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VOL. XII.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 3, 1892.

No. 5.

EDITORIAL NOTES.—The lawless population in every country falls into three classes. One of these, a class which may for the present be dismissed from consideration, comprises the common criminals of all degrees, who, from temptation in some cases and professionally in others, prey upon the community. The other two consist of elements that in ordinary times are peaceable and law-abiding, but who in times of public excitement resort to lawless violence. They are distinguished from each other by their respective methods. One flies in the face of the law, while the other bends the machinery of the law to its uses. One is artlessly, and the other insidiously revolutionary. The violence of the locked-out men at Homestead is a specimen of the former class of lawlessness; their wholesale prosecution for murder, with the obvious purpose of serving a sordid private end, is a specimen of the latter.

One of the men arrested last week, who charges the Carnegie people with threatening that, unless he went back to work his father would be arrested for murder, says that when he showed his ability to prove an alibi for his father and refused to return to work, the charge of murder was transferred from his father to himself. There is other evidence that the murder prosecutions at Homestead belong to the class of lawlessness toward which this young man's story points. Long in advance the arrests were significantly threatened by the Carnegie people, the prosecutions were begun and have been carried on by the private counsel of the Carnegies, no prosecutions originating with the authorities have been undertaken, the arrests have been sporadic and each has been accompanied with threats of further arrests, and altogether it has been made quite plainly to appear that the real object of the prosecutions is not to punish crime in the interest of the community, but, in the interest of the Carnegie establishment, to intimidate the people of Homestead into a surrender to the demands of their masters.

But this instance of the bending of the machinery of the criminal law to a private use is typical of the mildest form of that class of lawlessness. Examples of a more dangerous type are afforded in connection with the attempt by Berkman upon the life of Frick. The policeman who arrested Berkman expressed himself to a reporter as sorry that the prisoner submitted so easily. "I would like to have filled him with bullets," said this guardian of the law. And a police inspector, referring to the anarchists of Pittsburg against whom there does not appear to be a particle of evidence of crime, said to another reporter: "I am sorry the Grand Jury is not in session, as we would most surely railroad all of these men." It is not usual for policemen who arrest ordinary criminals, even of the violent sort, to be anxious for a legal excuse either to fill the prisoners with bullets, or to "railroad" them. In all cases of vulgar crime, the officers of the law are content to perform their simple duty and leave the law to take its regular course. How then shall we account for the disposition to lawlessness of which the two instances cited are examples?

General Snowden has all unconsciously given the explanation. When the case of the private in his command, who had been lawlessly strung up by the thumbs for telling a superior officer that Berkman deserved three cheers, was brought to the attention of Gen. Snowden, that sapient patriot is said to have exclaimed that the private was guilty of treason, and to have added by way of explanation, "He was siding with our enemies!" Throughout this difficulty at Homestead, there has been exhibited on the part of some officials and many newspapers, a feeling that the factory side is "our side," and the workmen's side is "the other side," and that while the lawlessness of the "the other side" must under no circumstances be excused, tolerated, or condoned, the lawlessness of "our side" is quite another matter. It is in consequence of this feeling that the workmen have been condemned without discrimination, that Frick has been praised and encouraged without judgment, and that the law has been bent to the service of the rich and powerful, and shown to the poor and helpless in the controversy to be a terrific engine for their destruction.

Even these instances of a disposition toward that kind of lawlessness which bends the law to the service of private ends, regardless of the general good, are trifling when compared with a proposition of the Evening Post of New York to utilize the clamor against Berkman for the purpose of shackling the press. To those who worship the mere form of law this proposition will appear innocent enough; but to those who regard law as a rule for the preservation of rights, and liberty as prescribing a higher law than any legislative regulations, it is as lawless a proposal as if its aim were to protect piracy, arson or murder. The Post says:

There has come to be a new type of mind upon which an incitement to

commit murder may act as powerfully if couched in general and academic language about the wrongs of society and the crimes of capitalists, as if in the form of a specific appeal to shoot a specific man. If the present legal definition of the crime of inciting to murder does not properly cover such cases, a new one should be made that will. The law should recognize, what society is being more and more compelled to, the existence of a class of men on the border line between sanity and insanity, whose mania is most apt to take the form of brooding on social wrongs, real or fancied, and to break out in murderous acts. What can be shown to provoke such beings to attempt to commit murder, even if it would have no effect whatever upon the mass of men, is distinctly a crime and should be made so and punishable legally.

If such a law were passed, it would be unsafe for any writer, no matter how good his motives, or cautious his words, or feasible the remedy he proposed, to point out and denounce any social wrong by means of which some people fatten upon the wealth which others produce. What he said of the wrong might provoke the murderous anger of some one who, neither knowing nor caring about the remedy proposed, would run amuck among the rich with firearms or dynamite. And that in such a case every possible effort would be made to shift the responsibility for murder from the actual culprit to some strong writer who with his pen had exposed the processes of legalized robbery, no one familiar with the struggles of privileged classes to retain their privileges, could for a moment doubt. The Post's proposition is not limited to cases of advising murder. It goes the length of making a legislative crime of any exposition of property rights to which the murderous act of an irresponsible man may be psychologically traced.

This cool proposition to transgress a fundamental law of liberty, is a piece of class lawlessness which would, if its adoption were possible, be a greater menace to good government than scores of assaults like that upon Frick.

Our real danger from that lawless class of which the Berkman's are representative, is not so much their violence as the legislative violence to American liberty, like that proposed by the Post, to which they may provoke the voting masses.

At a time when every constable who can is trying to make all possible reputation as an anarchist hunter, with the class which makes statutes a cover for lawlessness, it is as refreshing as a cool breeze on a sultry day to learn of a prominent policeman who appears to know his duty and to understand its limitations. This man is Inspector Steers of the New York force. Asked by a reporter if he intended to arrest the New York anarchists with whom Berkman had associated, Inspector Steers sensibly, and under the circumstances courageously, replied: "I do not see why we should be expected to arrest these people. They have talked a great deal but they have not done anything. They may be very violent in their thoughts—we cannot control that; but so long as their actions are peaceable we can do nothing." If the anarchists were treated according to this policy they would gather no recruits, and their ravings would soon cease either to amuse themselves or to frighten the delicate women of the "propertied" class.

The Sun, of Portland, Me., referring to the adoption of the single tax at Hyattsville, remarks that "the millionaire who owns no land will pay no taxes." Very true. But who ever heard of that kind of millionaire?

The debate last week in the Senate on the question of protection, brought out the fact in bold relief that the two political parties are tending toward free trade, with the Democrats in the lead. Not long ago the Republicans stood for a tariff on foreign productions for the purpose of building up home industries and increasing American wages, while the Democrats insisted that though they favored tariff reductions they were anxious to maintain duties at a point sufficiently high to allow for the difference between European and American wages. The Democrats have now quit their folly and gone as far as a tariff for revenue only. At the same time the Republicans have receded from their extreme demands to the position recently occupied by the Democrats. All the protection they now ask for is enough to equalize the difference between American and foreign wages. One more turn of the political kaleidoscope and the Democrats must be for free trade and direct taxation, or the Republicans will get there ahead of them.

The argument regarding the equalization of wages by protective tariffs has over and over again been shown to be fallacious; but protection "arguments" are preserved, like fruit in alcohol, for exhibition at all seasons, and like fruit preserved in alcohol they are fit only to look at. There is probably no established industry in this country in which the labor cost of production is not less than

in any other country in the world. That the protectionists know this, and that their pretense that labor costs more here than abroad is a deliberately false pretense, is shown by the care when publishing wages' statistics with which they compare the time wages of American workmen with the time wages of foreign workmen, and avoid comparing the labor cost there and here of the same kind of products.

In due course we may now expect soon to be told that Japan has the single tax, but derives from it none of the industrial and social benefits that its enthusiastic advocates expect from its adoption in this country. In the Quarterly Journal of Economics, Garret Droppers supplies the facts from which this probable conclusion will be drawn. He states that of the total revenues of Japan over half are derived from the land tax, which is levied at the rate of two and a half per cent. on the capital value of the land. Mr. Droppers does not say whether the value of improvements is reckoned or excluded in the estimate of land value, nor whether the tax falls upon the value of city and mining land as well as upon agricultural acres, two facts which are of great importance if this land tax is to be considered as the single tax. It appears, too, from his paper, that when the feudal system was abolished in Japan, the feudal lords, some of whom enjoyed annual incomes ranging up to \$700,000, the average being \$400,000, were compensated with government bonds. Here, then, we have one kind of landlordism substituted for another; the rents that were formerly collected by the lords themselves being now collected by the government and paid over to the lords. If Mr. Dropper had shed a little more light upon the subject, we should probably see that so far from the Japanese system's having any likeness to the single tax, it is either a real estate tax falling upon improvements as well as land, and chiefly an agricultural tax at that, or that instead of being a true land tax of any variety, it is, as most Asiatic so-called land taxes are, a tax upon agricultural and mineral productions.

Query: What is the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor? Answer: Eleven dollars for the passage and six days to get here.

The Philadelphia North American complains that protectionists are made to say that protective duties increase wages, whereas "what protectionists claim, and it is all they claim," is that protection causes a multitude of new enterprises to spring up, which "acts upon the wage vote as a tonic and makes it possible to maintain high wages." The idea is somewhat further elaborated by the statement that "without protection we could not produce some important staples at all in competition with the cheaper labor abroad," and that "protection is only the imposition of a duty on the foreign product equal to the difference in wages paid there and here." This explanation suggests many inquiries. For example: What important staples are produced in this country the labor cost of which is greater than the labor cost of similar staples produced abroad? How does the imposition of a duty on foreign products, equal to the difference in wages, if there be any difference, enable American manufacturers to pay the higher wages? Is it not because the duty increases the price of the product? If so, what becomes of the assurances of protectionists that protection lowers prices? Will not foreign manufacturers pay the duty and sell their goods here at the old price, thus preventing the American manufacturer from getting such prices as will enable him to pay American wages? If not, what becomes of the protection doctrine that the foreigner pays the tariff? If American manufacturers do get a higher price for their goods, what compels them to pay higher wages? If they do pay higher wages, what prevents foreign workmen from coming over here and, (since the North American admits that "where the labor market is overstocked wages invariably decline," tariff or no tariff), by overstocking the labor market, reducing American wages and making the laborer's share of protection stick to the hands of employers, as at Homestead? Answers to these questions, if consistent with the North American's editorial to which we refer, and with each other, would deserve to be framed and conspicuously exhibited at the Columbian Exposition.

The recent disastrous fire at St. John's, New Foundland, has brought the citizens of that town face to face with the land question. The most valuable land was held in leases which were to terminate in case of fire, and the conflagration having given the owners the opportunity, they now demand rentals from 50 to 100 per cent. higher than the old leases reserved, coupled with a condition that the tenants shall rebuild with stone. This has caused intense excitement. An immense public mass meeting passed resolutions demanding such socialistic remedies as land courts, and more idiotic still it was proposed, after raise a fund to buy out the landlords, to create a new act by selling the land on easy terms. How easy it would be, in a place situated as St. John's now is, to shift all taxes to the value of land; and how quickly the great landlords would make

terms with tenants rather than pay high taxes on land which yields them no income.

In a review of Bolton Hall's excellent book, "Who Pays Your Taxes?" one of Putnam's "Questions of the Day Series," the Independent mistakes Mr. Hall when it says it agrees with him that "whatever the tax may be, in the last resort, the consumer pays it." That is not Mr. Hall's position as to all forms of taxation, but as to most forms. And if the Independent's reviewer will reconsider, he may see that it is to taxes on competitive commodities, and not to those on monopolies, that the rule applies. A house value tax, for example, will increase the rent of houses and be paid by the tenant, while a land value tax will not. We have no desire to embarrass the Independent's reviewer, but a sense of duty obliges us to call the attention of the tariff editor of that protection paper to the slip of the reviewer by which he knocks the pinning from under the favorite protection theory that it is the foreign manufacturer, and not the American consumer, who pays custom house taxes.

The Toledo Blade thinks that our sister republics of South America "compel all goods" from the United States to pay duties. Our sister republics do nothing of the kind. But they do compel their citizens to pay duties for such American goods as they purchase, and that is probably what the editor of the Blade is thinking of. He gets about as near to the truth as protection editors usually do.

A writer in the Baltimore Sun, in speaking of the single tax experiment at Hyattsville, says:

It has been said that Hyattsville is giving the first trial to single tax ever made in this country, but Kentucky deserves this honor. In 1801 the Blue Grass State tested the theory, but its opponents sprang up and choked it. Ohio then fell in line, but the seed cast from Kentucky fell upon barren ground. Fifty years ago Illinois made a third attempt, but its principles were contrary to the then constitution of the State.

This writer is so economical of his knowledge that he withholds all further information on the subject. That is a great pity. Nothing could be more interesting at this time than a circumstantial account of these "single tax" experiments. But we fear that the Baltimore Sun or its correspondent has been imposed upon.

AN INSOLENT DESPOTISM.

Father Huntington, in the New York Evening Telegram.

With a Presidential campaign before us that appeals more strongly to the reason and the conscience than any similar event for thirty years, it would be a grievous mistake to allow the real significance of the struggle at Homestead to be forgotten. It will not do to let the feelings of indignation and discontent in the masses evaporate in wild tirades against Mr. Pinkerton or in generous sympathy with Private Iams. Looking behind these individuals, men must learn to see the outlines of an insolent economic despotism, impatient of even the forms of legal procedure, and linked with it an aggressive militarism that despises the civil law, while yet, as in the attempted Force bill, it is ready to use it as a cloak to hide the thrust of its own dagger.

The dictum of the monopolists is short and sharp: "We shall run our business to suit ourselves." They justify this position by declaring that their business is their own private concern and that, unless they are protected against interference, no man will be safe from disturbance in the possession of his house or his earnings. That is a specious argument and thus far the majority of people, who are not accustomed to think things out very deeply, have accepted it as true. But in a Democratic state, people must think things out, and the conflict of the last few weeks will help to press the question home.

Is it true that the business of corporations such as the Carnegie Steel Company is merely a "private concern?" That corporation, like most others in our day, is of a monopolistic character. It may not be a monopoly in the narrowest sense of the term, but it rests on the most fundamental monopoly possible, and it is bolstered up by a whole mass of special legislation. It is by the monopoly of the sources of production in the shape of coal deposits and iron mines and factory sites, and by the imposition of duties on foreign steel, that the Carnegie Company possesses the power it is using to maintain its attitude of insolent self-will.

"THE WAY OUT."

"The Way Out; or, The Farmer's Only Hope of Rescue from Ruin," is a little pamphlet of thirty-one pages, typographically neat and attractive, by L. E. Willmarth, one of the oldest disciples of Henry George, east of the Rocky Mountains. In the form of a lively dialogue, which nowhere sacrifices economic accuracy, the true cause of hard times among farmers is so clearly described that even a school boy understands it. Mr. Willmarth has laid the scene of his story among the Hudson River fruit raisers; but it fits the case of every class of farmer in every part of the country. The price of the pamphlet is five cents for a single copy; or in quantities, \$3 a hundred and \$20 a thousand. It may be obtained of John Filmer, 3186 Broadway, or of THE STANDARD.

"AN OUNCE OF PREVENTION."

"An Ounce of Prevention" is the title of No. 3 of Charles H. Kerr & Co.'s Library of Progress. Its author, Augustus Jacobson, proposes to save society from destruction by establishing manual training schools, at which the students shall receive wages ranging from \$50 per annum at 12 years of age to \$300 at 20, the expense to be met by a graduated succession tax.

THE ESSENCE OF VALUE.

ETHELBERT W. GRABILL.

Those who have hitherto proposed to explain the nature of value have been accustomed to begin with an emphatic preface upon the importance of a correct understanding of its phenomena—by which was meant their own understanding. The present writer, in offering an analysis which disagrees with, where it does not extend or supplement, that of others, has no disposition to do otherwise. For ideas of what value is have exercised a profound influence, through their superstructures of politico-economic theory, upon governmental policies.

Carey's labor-cost notions of value logically preceded his argument for the protective doctrine, which is still the bulwark of American McKinleyism. Marx's equally crude theory gave coherence to his socialistic philosophy, the ponderous and growing influence of which in German thought is truly marvelous. Professors Ely and Clark have developed a theory of market value, which is the forerunner of an ostensibly more limited, if refined phase of socialism; while the now popular Jevonian conception of value as a mere ratio in exchange has encouraged law-making in England typical of an individualism which Herbert Spencer would condemn as unsound.

Shäffle (Quintessence of Socialism) remarks: "It is our conviction—the result of careful scientific examination—that this theory (of value) has no less significance for the future than any theory of Rousseau. The correction of the now widespread theory of 'social value in terms of labor cost' is perhaps significant for the history of entire nations."

These facts offer no excuse for an hypothesis of value which shall furnish a basis for any favorite legislative scheme. On the contrary, they insist upon the most careful and unbiased scrutiny of the essential nature of so fundamental an idea, and make it certain that whatever of truth may be discovered will cause correct economic procedure, while social misfortune must continue to result from error.

In this short sketch the myriad misconceptions as to what value is cannot be specifically refuted; rather must such clear analysis of basic principles be given as shall suffice, when those principles are developed, to point out error. Nor can reference be made to each author who has held views concurrent in any degree with those of the present writer—and there have been many such, though all statements, so far as examined, have been fundamentally lacking. Some historic generalizations as to previous theories, are, however, necessary.

The theories which have been advanced by economists concerning the generic nature of value may roughly be divided into three principal classes: the power-in-exchange, the congelation-of-labor, and the ratio-in-exchange hypothesis. As promulgated by Adam Smith, Ricardo, J. S. Mills, and others, the power-in-exchange hypothesis made a distinction between value-in-use and value-in-exchange, regarding the former as power to gratify human desire or need, and the latter as consisting essentially of "the power which inheres in a thing to procure other things by means of exchange." They also thought that the exchange value of a commodity is proportionate in amount with the labor it has taken to produce it; that one commodity will exchange for another which, on the average, it has taken equal labor to produce. Other economists of similar tendencies, of whom Carey is best known, seeing that this will not always hold—since when an improvement is made in the production of an article, the ratio in which it exchanges for others is usually modified—thought that exchange value is coincident with labor-cost of production.

The congelation-of-labor hypothesis, as propounded by Sir William Thompson and Rodbertus, but which received its most famous exposition from Karl Marx, carries the labor-cost idea to a still more radical extreme. While its advocates made substantially the same distinction between value-in-use and value-in-exchange as did Smith, they considered the value-in-exchange of a commodity to be the crystallized labor, or as Marx says, the congelation of (the) labor which has been expended in producing it.

Widely divergent from this theory is that developed by a line of economists of whom Jean-Baptiste Say, Malthus and Perry, but more definitely



Ethelbert W. Grabill was born in 1863 at Newtonia, Missouri. His father was a merchant. He went to the common schools, and when seventeen years old entered Drury College at Springfield, Missouri. After spending three years in that institution he studied music for some time in Cincinnati, intending to make it his profession. His progress was very rapid and he soon became a member of the Cincinnati Grand Orchestra as cornetist. His career as a musician was, however, suddenly cut short in the loss of his embouchure, which prevented his ever playing again on the cornet. Subsequently, in 1885, while still a Republican, he received an appointment under Cleveland in the War Department, and remained in Washington four years when he moved to Springfield, Missouri, where he is now engaged in business. While in Washington he learned his first lesson in politics. He was as ardent a Republican as any who whooped for Harrison in 1888, but when he saw the maneuvers of the lobby in constructing and engineering through the McKinley bill, he became forever disgusted with protection and Republicanism. Soon afterward he read "Progress and Poverty" and saw the cat at once. Since then the single tax cause has had no more earnest advocate, while nearly all his leisure time has been devoted to study of politics, economy and sociological subjects.

Walras and Jevons, are representative. That which was called by the Smithians value-in-use they designated utility, making between it and value a sharp distinction. The latter they set forth to be ratio-in-exchange, or a phenomenon in which the exchange relation of two things to each other is elementary.

It is not to be supposed that there were from the first any clear lines of demarcation between these different schools. On the contrary, they may be considered as a series in which the Marxian embodied-labor notion holds one extreme, a progression from which, through Carey, Smith, Ricardo, Bastiat, Say, Malthus and Perry (these names are only used typically), would lead to the Jevonian emphasis of ratio-in-exchange at the other extreme. Moreover, the positions, in this progression, of a legion of economists, are hardly definite, often containing tendencies towards either end of the series.

The inaccuracy of all these views arises in great part from a preconceived theory—that of exchange—and was occasioned, doubtless, by the hasty preconception of economics as based primarily upon exchange instead of more profoundly upon certain psychological springs of action. Value was considered as an effect on the one hand of labor and on the other of exchange, whereas value is not only anterior to labor and exchange, but they are both its effects. The proper method of examining the phenomena relative to the subject, independently of previous conceptions, and with a view to generically identify the feeling or feelings universally alluded to by means of the term value, has rarely been attempted and never with complete success. Nevertheless an effort, such as we propose making, to follow such a plan, can hardly be made without giving proper credit to the two economists who have, doubtless, most nearly approached a correct dealing with the subject—Professor Jevons and J. B. Clark. While in his subsequent conclusions as to the nature of value, Prof. Jevons is far from being clear, or even logical, his survey of utility in many respects admirable. Were it not that he includes therein more than is properly concerned with utility, and that he is prone to mistake equivalence for identity (the fault of the mathematical method) his views could be considered authoritative. As it is, were all readers of this article supposed to be familiar with his writings, much of it would necessarily have to be taken up in showing how very near he was to correctness, and by what minute divergences he often failed of being fundamental. The theory of Professor Clark, however, is with respect to value itself superior to that of Jevons, but is short of truth by two especially important elements. He defines "value in the generic" (an excellent term which I have borrowed), as being "measurement of utility." Agreeing with him that the conception of value must look to utility as its base, a brief outline of what is meant by utility must precede my statement of difference from this definition. In such an outline Bentham must be more nearly followed, without the Jevonian modifications. Says the great philosopher: "By utility is meant that property in any object whereby it tends to produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good or happiness (all this in the present case, comes to the same thing), or, (what comes again to the same thing) to prevent the happening of mischief, pain, evil, or unhappiness to the party whose interest is considered." Let a point zero be mentally represented, from which the sensations of pleasure and pain diverge in opposite directions. Pain thus being considered the negative of pleasure, an uninterrupted progression may be conceived of as proceeding from the lowest degree of pain to the highest degree of pleasure. Briefly, utility may be defined as that quality of anything which tends to substitute relatively greater pleasure (or less pain) for relatively less pleasure (or greater pain). "Thing" I say, for utility inheres not only in objects, but in qualities, actions, mental states and other intangibilities. Now, the utility of anything can never positively be known, much less measured, unless the effects of that thing be actually experienced by the knowing or measuring mind, and the whole amount of its utility cannot be measured until the thing is entirely consumed. But when a thing is consumed, it no longer has value, nor can a partial experience of a thing's utility positively assure the quantity of utility remaining, (however confident assumption it may cause), nor the experiencing of the utility of one thing absolutely insure the quantity of utility in another, no matter how similar it appears. Let it be remarked, however,—for herein may be discerned the true source of the phenomena of value—that when the utility of a thing has been experienced, the rest of that thing or a similar thing will be assumed to possess utility, possibly in accurately reckoned quantity.

Now, whenever utility is attributed to a thing, there instantly result two distinct mental feelings: esteem for the thing by reason of its assumed utility, and desire for it for the same reason. But utility cannot be assumed by an intelligent human being without the immediate beginning of a quantitative estimation of such utility. With each fluctuation of this estimation the resultant esteem and desire for the thing, alter correspondingly, being exactly dependent upon and precisely proportionate to the estimation. Briefly, there is a process of assuming utility, which develops into estimation of utility, which causes minutely equivalent esteem of and desire for the thing whose utility is estimated.

Of the element of desire, that word and others are interpretive. But if the business, scientific and ordinary use of the word value be scrutinized—any use, in fact, but that of economists who have prescribed an artificial meaning for the term—it will be found always to correspond either to estimated utility or esteem (by reason of estimated utility), or a blending of these two consciousnesses. Similarly, the verb "to value" means either to estimate the utility of, or to esteem (by reason of estimated utility).*

What is more natural than that, in popular language, minute discrimination should not be exercised with regard to the interpretation of a mental process the elements of which are so inseparable? Especially is this reflect-

* Such estimation is distinctly in the nature of a forecast, or speculation (except such small part of it as may refer to the infinitely minute vanishing point of the present), and is not to be confounded with "measurement of utility," from which it is radically different, even though it may be based upon quantitative measurement taken at the actual experiencing of utility.

tion forcible when it is realized that no political economist (whose business it should be, if any one's) has properly analyzed the process, simple though it be.

A proper question here presents itself, however, as to the use of the term value in economics. It may be objected that the popular use is ambiguous, and should not be transferred to a science, in which accuracy is indispensable. But it must be reflected that the germ of the idea is always the same—estimated utility, and that if this once be clearly recognized (as it is already intuitively understood), no possible harm can result to scientific formulae, based upon the ordinary usage of the term, especially as the element of esteem when present in the mind is entirely resultant upon and precisely correspondent to the germ of estimation. On the contrary, there is a tremendous advantage to be gained by transferring direct from business the commercial usage of the word to a science which has so much to do with commerce. Nor can it be too strongly urged that the use of the word in any special or artificial significance must create continual misimpressions, even if used with consistency, and I have yet to find the economist who, after giving his own set meaning to the term, does not constantly use it in its popular, and, therefore, correct sense. Added argument to the same effect is derived from the fact that the word value is etymologically the same in other Latin languages, and evidently interprets a feeling which has always been deeply, if not definitively, felt. Significantly, too, the words I have used to describe the two elements of estimation and esteem, and for which I have found no other fully adequate, are derived from the same Latin root.

It may now be easily traced how economists have generally mistaken relations or coincidences of value for value itself. If one be asked what value he places upon a thing, he may perhaps say he values it greatly, very greatly, or little; this may be called indefinite expression of value. Or he may say he values it at three fox-skins, or at \$10, which is the expression of value in ratio. But observe that in saying the latter he only says that he values the article as much as he values \$10, and though this is somewhat clearer than to say "greatly," it is not a perfectly definite expression of value, nor can such expression exist. For no two persons value \$10 equally, nor can any one interpret to himself exactly how much capacity to increase pleasure another will attribute to \$10, or how much consequent esteem he may place thereon. But the expression of value in ratio is nevertheless of vast use. For, why does one man wish another to express his valuation of a thing in terms of a second thing—a horse, for instance, in terms of corn? Not because he has any interest in the other's valuation other than to see where it differs from his own, so that he may make an exchange with profit. If the horse is valued by the other man at more corn than by himself he may be able to trade horse for corn with profit. Or if the horse be valued by the other at less corn than by himself he will decline to trade at the other's ratio. Expression of value by means of ratio, then, must not be confused with value itself.

But things are often valued, it may be objected, simply for their power in exchange, or because it is thought they can be exchanged for other things. Precisely so, and this is the old distinction between value-in-use and value-in-exchange, where there is no elementary distinction at all. For if I can exchange one thing for another to which I attribute utility, I can but assume the first is useful—it merely brings the same increase of pleasure indirectly. Whenever anything whatever is assumed to be useful, anything else whatever will possess value if it is thought to be exchangeable for that thing.

How exchange arises from value instead of the contrary may be more readily seen when it is reflected that the first exchange was never made until the parties to it each attached value to something the other possessed. All subsequent exchanges proceed according to the same law. The longer the necessary cycle of exchanges the more indirectly is pleasure increased, but every exchange is still consummated distinctly for that purpose and the value of any product in the cycle is still based on its assumed capacity to increase pleasure more or less directly. The power of abstraction necessary to exchange is probably limited to the human species, but most animals of comparative intelligence have more or less definite notions of value. A dog usually values a bone more than he does a piece of bread, but dogs do not exchange.

In seeking for the primary cause of variations of value this fact must be remembered. Nothing can be valued unless there is first a relatively painful (or unpleasant), condition in the mind which is to value. Therefore, whatever so acts upon the mind as to produce a primary condition of less or greater pleasure, tends necessarily to increase or diminish the value which that mind will attribute to a thing which it assumes will favorably change that condition. Conversely, condition of pleasure or pain remaining unchanged, unless new discoveries are made affecting the estimated capacity of the thing to give pleasure, its value cannot alter. The values placed upon other things, however, may have changed, conditions which they would ameliorate having altered, and consequently the ratios in which the former things will exchange for the latter may be different. In these evident propositions is the key to the whole problem of demand and supply, concerning which there has been so much vagary, and in them is the correction of the hypotheses which have confounded value with labor cost.

As we saw that things were exchanged because valued differently by different persons, so we may see that labor is exerted to produce those things which are of greatest value to the laborer; a mere translation of the law that man seeks to satisfy his desires with the least sacrifice. Labor itself only attains value as its capacity for indirectly increasing pleasure becomes recognized. Whether opportunities upon which it may be exerted to produce valued things are limited (by monopoly or otherwise) or not, labor is valued precisely as much as the pleasure which it is estimated it will produce. And if the inactive state is valued by the laborer he will exert himself only to bring forth something still more valued. Obviously, in the correspondence between value of labor products and labor the latter is always effect, not

cause. If two different things are equally valued and equally difficult to produce, it is probable that something like the same amount of labor will be devoted to the production of each, for otherwise labor would be badly employed. But the parallel thus arising between the value of the things and the amount of labor devoted to their production will only continue while the estimated utility of either remains unchanged. If wheat should cease to be thought conducive to pleasure, neither the previous cost of its production nor the cost of its reproduction could give it the slightest value. Even when such cost is the determining cause of desire for a commodity as when valued for the sake of ostentation, knowledge of the cost must create a want (relatively painful condition) before value takes shape. And however nearly cost of reproduction may at any time parallel the value of anything, as expressed, for instance, in money, a multitude of exceptions and divergences make it evident that here is no permanent equivalence, much less identity. The more particularly as value in labor is only value expressed in terms of something itself only indirectly valuable.

That which always does influence value by producing a condition of relatively less pleasure is insufficiency of a thing actually possessing utility. This insufficiency is not necessarily real and present, but may be only seeming or contemplated. Air, therefore, and water, being usually plentiful (for purposes of direct utility) are little if at all valued. But when there is (or is expected) a great insufficiency of them, their value may be inestimable. Contemplated insufficiency, however, cannot cause present supply to be valued unless it is thought to be preservable for the emergency. Here, too, is the explanation of monopoly value, which attaches to things of which artificial insufficiency can be created—for instance, land.

Again, should a thing be assumed to have a positive capacity to increase pleasure in some ways, but also the negative property of diminishing pleasure in other ways in its attainment or use, such positive and negative qualities will be balanced against each other in valuation. Instance coal in a mine, or a theater ticket on a disagreeable night. Should the negative qualities outbalance the positive ones, the attributed value will be zero unless the experience of both utilities and disutilities is compulsory, when the value will be less than nothing. But assumed indirect utility (through exchange) makes valuable to many those things whose direct disutilities would outbalance their direct utilities—such as opium or whiskey.

Similar to contemplated insufficiency is potential plenty. A man values a loaf of bread, which, were he starving, would be of vast (though not as some writers think, infinite) value, at little under ordinary circumstances. This is because he has potentially a great quantity of bread—his whole available assets may be turned into bread if he wishes.

A further mere indication of the relation of value in the generic to the working of the laws of demand and supply, and to what has been styled market value, may here be noticed. Of demand and supply the former is alone absolutely essential to value. For value can be attributed to a thing of which there is no longer any supply whatever, or even to something wholly imaginary, while alteration in supply can only influence value by first influencing demand. What is called market value is simply a generalization of individual values. As individuals who exchange calculate that there will be less or more of a commodity which increases pleasure, they will value a specific quantity of it more or less highly. What some individuals think will not be without effect upon the assumptions of other individuals; and this, with the usually similar data attainable to traders in the same commodity, tends to average values in the same market at the same time at somewhere near the same point. But this attempt at generalization of individual values can never be more than a mere approximation, as is evident when it is seen that in the very best equipped markets, where there are most traders and best facilities for trading, fluctuations in price, though smallest, are the most rapid. The quotations from such markets which are most prized are itemized and descriptive records of particular sales. It is not too much to say that the social-organism conception of market value is the product of a loose theory, whose misleading tendencies towards socialistic legislation are extremely dangerous.

Concluding, the writer must reiterate his profound impression that a minute and careful examination of the phenomena herein sketched cannot fail of the most happy results in giving clearness and lucidity to the statement of true economic doctrines, and thence ultimately to correct and felicitous law-making. Political economy, so far as it is a science, can be nothing but the statement of natural laws and the means by which they can be conformed to. Nature may be obstructed even by arbitrary nomenclature and artificial classifications. She never can be varied to conform to these. But she may be aided by the correct use of her unalterable principles.

SINGLE TAX ENTHUSIASM.

MARGARET S. LITTELL.

We sometimes hear it said that while private property in land is certainly wrong and should be abolished, yet that the advocates of this reform are apt to be "enthusiasts" in their expectations of its results. Such criticisms spring from a failure to realize that the wrong in question is no mere fiscal mistake, but involves a breach of natural order whose consequences must necessarily extend to the farthest limit of the chain of cause and effect. Tracing out the connection of these consequences, we may find in the removal of their cause wherewith to justify some enthusiasm on the part of workers for that end.

In every community some locations have a value above others, which, in no respect the product of individual exertion, results from distribution of population, and increases as population increases. This value is the natural community fund. Its appropriation by individuals is the robber; of the community. Legalize such spoliation and the individuals thus enriched hold the key to the situation in their ability to control the land market. Not only is it true that the growing population can create less wealth with the same exertion than on preferable sites, but out of this less they must pay with one hand an ever-increasing proportion to swell the

unearned wealth of their landlord, and with the other to replace the community fund thus diverted into his private coffers.

The fate of a community founded upon such a basis is simply a question of the rapidity of its growth, and, however delayed, is certain. Given the source of the stream, and the general trend of the land which it waters, and whatever may be its windings we know what ocean it must find at last. The differentiation into the very rich and the very poor, begins with the presence of its cause and will cease only with the removal of that cause.

The very rich and the very poor. Vast wealth. Abject poverty. What do the words imply? Abject poverty means the loss of self-respect and of the respect of one's fellows. It means to suffer, and to see one's dearest suffer, from cold and hunger, and never-rested weariness. It means to toil on through pain and disease till death opens the door of escape. Yet more than this; it means every temptation to drunkenness and crime; it means the dull brutality born of despair. It means children growing up without home or parental care, ignorant of the refinements of cleanliness and the safeguards of decency; familiar with evil from babyhood. Hopeless want and all the vice that springs from it: this is the meaning of abject poverty.

To escape such a fate, to reach the standing ground of unthreatened competence—ever harder and harder to gain—becomes the goal of the frantic crowd; and it is a struggle in which the success of one means the disaster of many. Public opinion, debauched of necessity, condones more and more of baseness, dishonor, and even crime, whose outcome is the attainment of wealth. Honor is reserved for riches alone, and the ostentation of its evidences becomes the occupation of its possessors, and the strained effort of those who, to hide a lack become shameful, strive to make a show behind which there is no reality. When ideals have fallen thus low; when work has become a badge of disgrace; when success in money-getting is the standard of conduct: then are the teachers of morals but as salt that has lost its savor; public spirit and patriotism but words left for the hypocrites of party to conjure with; then the indolence and vice born of luxury, no less than the indolence and vice born of want, leave their lurking-places for the broad light of day. Class hatreds flourish; class wars prevail, till social order perishes and chaos comes again.

Such being the evils which must result from the private ownership of land, there is surely enough in the removal of their cause to waken enthusiasm in the minds of those who love their race. Abolish this cause, and those whom it forces into poverty and vice are released from its fatal pressure. The fines which it has exacted from industry and thrift—checking production and consumption—are no longer levied. Those whom it has enabled to live in luxury at the expense of their fellows are no longer able to draw an income from such a source. With the dread of want dies the deification of riches. Temptations to ostentation in living are minimized, for as wealth loses its prestige, its evidences, as such, call for no more of envy or admiration than a string of scalps or an elaborate pattern in tattooing. Morality and patriotism and public spirit, no longer trodden under foot in the mad race for money, once more lift their august heads, and class hatreds must disappear as class lines tend to vanish.

But this is not all. A righteous reform not only casts out the devil, it opens the door to the angel. Natural law being in its nature beneficent, its violation is the reversal of a mighty engine for good. And so renewed obedience results in no mere negation of evil. All the force of the power that was hurrying civilization to destruction now carries the race forwards. "Turn yourselves and live ye," said the prophet of old. The change of direction involves a change of goal, and is vital.

But who supposes that, the single tax once in operation, humanity is to ship its oars and drift? Rather is it then only worth while to row when freed from the swift current that sets towards ruin. To remove an obstacle makes progress possible. The man who has gained one height is in a position to scale a higher. Cause enough for enthusiasm if we may hope that our faithful discharge of the duty of our day and generation may enable those who come after to see, with purged vision, tasks hidden from eyes dimmed by familiarity with the long night of injustice and misery.

REAL CAUSE OF AMERICAN PROSPERITY.

In debating the free wool bill Congressman Wilson, of West Virginia, fired a shot at the familiar comparison of American with foreign prosperity. He said:

England has 27,000,000 people. England is one-third of the size of California, one-fifth of the size of the State of Texas. It is an old country where for hundreds and thousands of years millions of people have been treading upon each others' heels in the struggle for the necessities of life. It is a country where every acre of land has long since been appropriated, where land monopoly prevails; a country where the laws come out of the past saturated with privilege, saturated with injustice; a country where the people are divided into hard, unbending social divisions; a country where every natural resource has long since become private property, where the forests have been felled and the mines have been dug into and the fields have been harrowed for hundreds of years to supply the wants of millions of population. And yet gentlemen compare the condition of the people of that country with the condition of the people of this country; a country that until a few years ago, almost in the day of our fathers, was hidden from the knowledge of the people of those older worlds. Here, while they were exhausting their fields, the mold in our agricultural valleys was deepening. Here, while they were exhausting their mines, ours were lying undisturbed in the mountains. Here, while they were exhausting their forests, not the sound of an axe broke the silence of the woods. And now, when there is let into this country but a handful of people, so to speak, the most intelligent, the most enterprising, the best educated people of the world, a people that have brought with them to this country all the knowledge, all the science, all the inventions, all the tools, all the capacity for self-government, and all blessed influences of the Christian religion—when they are let loose in this great country, extending from sea to sea, rich, untouched, unexhausted, unexplored, you come here and elsewhere and say that we owe our greater prosperity, our better opportunities for usefulness, our higher wages, our better conditions in every respect, not to the bounty of Almighty God, in giving us such a country, not to the wisdom and sacrifice of the fathers in giving us free institutions and equal laws, not to the enterprise and intelligence of our own people, but to a poor little two-by-six law of Congress.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

The Single Tax is a tax on land, regardless of its improvements and in proportion to its value. It implies the abolition of all other forms of taxation, and the collection of the public revenues from this source alone. It would be **CERTAIN**, because land values are most easily appraised; **WISE**, because, by discouraging the withdrawal of land from use and encouraging its improvement, it would expand opportunities for labor, augment wealth, and increase the rewards of industry and thrift; **EQUAL**, because every one would pay taxes in proportion to the value of the land, of right the common property of all, which he appropriated to his own use; and **JUST**, because it would fall not upon labor, enterprise, and thrift, but upon the value of a special privilege. It is more fully explained in the Single Tax Platform in another column; and in "Program and Poverty," by Henry George, every point is discussed and every objection answered.

The underlying principle of the single tax—that the earth belongs equally to all, and that the best way to secure substantial justice is to tax the occupant an amount equal to the yearly value of the land—is sound.—Journal of the Knights of Labor, September 24, 1891.

We have no hesitation in declaring our belief that the ideal taxation lies in the Single Land Tax, and exclusively on the rental value of land, independent of improvements.—New York Times, January 10, 1891.

The best and most subject of taxation is the thing that perforce stays in one place, that is land.—New York Sun, August 26, 1891.

Every one of these taxes [on commodities and buildings] the ostensible taxpayer—the man on the assessor's books—shifts to other shoulders. The only tax he cannot shift is the tax on his land values.—Detroit News, November 1, 1891.

The Bee does not say that it will never be a full-fledged single tax advocate. It believes in it in theory now; it pauses only on the threshold of doubt as to the expediency under existing circumstances.—Sacramento (Cal.) Bee.

The products of individual industry should remain at all times untaxed. Take the annual rental value of land without regard for improvements, no matter what it amounts to. The community could put this fund to better use than the individual landlords.—St. Louis Chronicle.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE SINGLE TAX LEAGUE.

The National Committee is carrying on the newspaper work of the Memphis committee in supplying news companies with single tax matter for their ready prints and plates.

Receipts for week ending August 2:

Mr. and Mrs. E. D. Burleigh, Germantown, Penn.	\$1 00
Balance reported last week	2 92

Cash on hand	3 92
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GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVINS, Secretary.

PROGRESS OF THE MOVEMENT.

On the 26th of Marlboro', Md., before Judge J. B. Brooke, of Prince George's County Circuit Court, the legal question regarding the adoption of the single tax by the Hyattsville Commissioners was argued. The anti-single tax men applied for a mandamus to compel the commissioners to tax improvements. For the mandamus, arguments were made by L. W. Habercorn, R. Ford Combs and Marion Duckett, and the cause of the commissioners was represented by Charles H. Stanley and M. H. Leverson. Stripped of technicalities, the question briefly is as follows: The commissioners are authorized by statute to use their discretion in exempting property from taxation. Pursuant to this authority—they have exempted all real estate improvements. It is argued against them that the statute did not contemplate general exemptions of a whole class of property, but special and individual exemptions only; and it is upon this point that the case turns. The arguments were extended, and though those for the anti-single taxers were well spiced with blackguardism, the question was fully presented. The judge reserved his decision, and is expected to render it in a few days. Whatever it may be an appeal to the Court of Appeals will be taken.

One evidence that the operation of the single tax at Hyattsville is attracting attention, is furnished by the following letter from Laredo, Tex., as to Mr. Ralston:

I have before me an article clipped from the St. Louis Republic of the 23d in which they give a brief history of your single tax town as reported to the New York STANDARD by Henry George, Jr. As this has been a pet idea with me for the past twenty years and as you are represented as one, if not the principal champion of the plan, I desire that you should send me more information in regard to the bill. It is true that the western states are looked upon by those of the East as productive only of cactus, long horns, cowboys and six-shooters, but the present generation are as far from this class of champions as can be imagined, but on the other hand we are looking toward a higher development, and Hyattsville has inaugurated a movement that will ring along the pages of history for all time, or else I am no prophet.

Yours very truly,

M. R. PASE.

REPORT OF THE PROPAGANDA SOCIETY.

The following annual report has just been issued:

In the report of the Committee on Single Tax Propaganda, published in THE STANDARD, July 15, 1891, we said we should like to see our work organized by states. Indeed, this was necessary if we intended to continue the work begun, for the names of persons interested in the single tax or likely to become so, which we had already collected, were so numerous that it was equally impossible for the few members of the committee to open a correspondence with each of them or distribute literature with regularity to all. We therefore began the discussion by letter of a plan of work and organization with the members of the Advisory Board and others; we prepared a report blank which should constantly remind members of the different kinds of work open to them, as well as insure frequent communication between members and secretaries, and make the labor of reporting as short and easy as possible; and we prepared a circular letter to go with the first instalment of tracts sent by a member to a person likely to become interested. These were printed and ready for distribution by the first of March. A member undertook to secure a suitable design for a badge. This was a troublesome undertaking and well performed. A blank for ordering badges was also printed.

The plan of organization adopted is very simple. It is a system of secretaries, who act as presidents and treasurers as well. First are the general and acting secretaries, then the state, and then the local secretaries. Provision is made for county secretaries in case of growth and also for the election of general, acting and state secretaries in future. It was necessary in the beginning to appoint the state secretaries.

The association proposes to conduct its propaganda by moral and ethical arguments, leaving politics to the clubs; yet it holds itself ready to take

part in any work which will eventually lead to the discussion of the principles which underlie the proposition to increase the land value tax till it absorbs the whole annual rental value, while abolishing all other taxes whatever—in other words, the proposition to abolish all taxation and pay the common expenses with the common fund created by society. Therefore it is helping the distribution of the congressional edition of "Protection or Free Trade?" and the other official single tax documents.

It was hoped that a national organization of this kind would do effective work for the cause; that, by means of it, single taxers who were doing little or nothing could be stimulated to effort; that isolated single taxers would be inspired by the sympathy of correspondents to attempt a one-handed propaganda in their neighborhoods; that single tax societies would spring up where none had been before, and that many single taxers before unknown to each other would be brought together. All these hopes have been fulfilled to a certain degree. THE STANDARD mailing list, which was given us for purposes of organization, was a great help.

From the general office there has been sent out 67 books, 3,923 tracts, 2,144 papers, 1,751 STANDARD circulars, 2,752 Congressional petition-blanks, 50 copies of "St. George," and about 300 of Congressman Tom L. Johnson's slips and forms, enclosed in explanatory notes, and 9 Extension subscriptions. The General Secretary reduced to order upward of 2,000 names and addresses, arranging them alphabetically according to states, towns and surnames, giving the county, the person from whom the name was received and any other information, economic, political or personal, which might be useful to workers, and the record of literature sent from the general office to each to avoid duplication. These lists with two exceptions were type-written for the state secretaries by the acting secretary who is now recording by the same plan all names sent in and adding the Congressional district of each town. Both the general and acting secretaries are adding to the association's list of newspapers.

The first duty of a state secretary, on receipt of the association's list of names and printed matter, and THE STANDARD mailing list, is to write to the single taxers in that state, enclosing the plan of work and report blank. The acting secretary has done this in states where there was no secretary, namely, Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indian Territory, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont, Virginia and Wisconsin. She addressed in this way 606 single taxers in those states; results, a large and growing correspondence, 33 members, the distribution of 1,638 tracts, 324 papers, 119 books, and 113 copies of "St. George," and a quickening of interest and effort. Two isolated members report a number of persons interested, and 6 converts. The acting secretary also wrote to a number of single taxers in other states, and thus found eleven state secretaries, who are now continuing the work begun by her. She also sells the badge, which involves a good deal of correspondence, and often brings in new names. The acting secretary procured a Congressional Directory, and wrote to eight Congressmen in districts for which the association had a list of names but no worker, asking for copies of "St. George" for distribution in that district. In her own district she distributed fifty copies, franked by her Congressman. She also wrote to sixty women suffragists, urging them to prove to their Congressmen that they are fitted to exercise the franchise by their intelligent interest in public affairs, which they would show by demanding copies of the Congressional edition of "Protection or Free Trade?" She is also secretary of the Economic Reading Circle, and has in her own class, conducted by letter, ten members, six quite advanced. The secretaries for Massachusetts and New York were the first secured, but before the leaflets, etc., were ready for distribution other duties obliged them to resign. This, with the account first given of the duties of the acting secretary, will show why the work is backward in those states.

The states in which organization was begun in March, and their secretaries are as follows:

California.—James S. Reynolds, San Francisco. The work was well begun by another before Mr. Reynolds was appointed, but owing to the change no report has been received beyond the announcement of local Association No. 1, of San Francisco. Mr. Reynolds writes that most of the country newspapers will publish single tax articles, and that labor and other organizations which a year ago would not give our doctrines a hearing, are now willing to listen.

Illinois.—Miss Isabella Hudson, Chicago, reported up to June, 48 persons addressed; 4 local associations formed; 51 new names sent in, some in places not down in either list; members of general association and isolated single taxers working well; distributed, so far as known, 40 tracts, 90 books, 10 papers, and "St. George's" (number not given); one speaker asked for and supplied.

Kansas.—Mrs. E. M. Blackman, Leavenworth, addressed 45 single taxers—10 members; distributed, so far as known, 40 tracts, 3 books, 10 papers, 50 copies of "St. George." Mrs. Blackman has started a paper, the Leavenworth Labor News, which not only gives the single tax matter provided by Mr. Pepon, but local items as well, including a complete list of labor organizations and their times and places of meeting. She is now making a house to house canvass in the interest of her paper, regarding it as the most important work she can now do for the cause. She keeps the barber shops and some restaurants supplied with the Labor News. Mrs. Blackman has lately joined the Knights of Labor and is spreading the light among them.

Maryland and Delaware.—Miss Anne L. Griffin, Baltimore, reports that single taxers have given her little encouragement, those in Baltimore belonging to one or the other of the two single tax societies already in existence, and those outside of the city showing indifference with one or two exceptions. She has therefore undertaken, almost alone, to form classes, distribute literature and do other educational work, hoping in this way to create a small body of workers who will help her to spread the light.

Missouri.—William W. Rose, Kansas City, reports 103 letters written; number of members not known; strong branch association in Jefferson City, including a number of prominent citizens and a very active secretary; distributed 217 tracts, 106 books, 130 papers per week; 8 clubs interested and 15 yearly subscribers to THE STANDARD secured. Also that he was able to bring together a number of single taxers in the same towns unknown to each other before.

New Jersey.—José Gros, Morristown. Meagre response was made to the many letters written by the secretary. He reports 21 members, however, 10 of whom have formed a local association in Orange, which holds regular meetings of an educational character. They are attended by 20 or thirty people, and are making an impression. The association has also distributed literature and done other propaganda work. This is the first single tax organization in Orange. The state secretary sent tracts, papers and letters to about 250 persons, and distributed 300 copies of "St. George." The North Plainfield members supplied the voters of their town with the same. Another undertaking successfully carried out by a member in Plainfield deserves special mention in hopes that it will be imitated in other states. She wrote to 73 town and school libraries that she had been authorized to offer them the works of Henry George, and asking which, if any, they had. Fifty-four libraries responded, cordially as a rule. Fifteen of these had among them 28 volumes, mostly "Progress and Poverty." To each of the 54 our members sent 2 or more of Mr. George's works, amounting in all to 184 volumes, which, with 21 exceptions, were bound in cloth. To 55 of the librarians and other officers she wrote a second time, enclosing 82 tracts. To 58 she sent THE STANDARD

for four weeks, and to 57 a copy of "St. George." This work was paid for by two persons. Further reported: 500 tracts distributed, 11 trial subscriptions to THE STANDARD and "St. George's" sent out, and 32 books in constant circulation.

Ohio.—P. J. Snay, Columbus, addressed 40 single taxers; 91 members; flourishing local association in Troy, where there was no club; 128 books, 2,000 tracts, many papers and 900 copies of "St. George" distributed; 60 converts made.

Wyoming.—Wm. Matthews, Black Butte, reported 2 members; 15 tracts, 10 books, 17 papers and many copies of "St. George" distributed.

In April, secretaries were appointed in the states which follow:

Nebraska.—Homer R. Biebee, Ainsworth, reports 103 letters written; 50 tracts, 8 books, 100 "St. George's" and 12 papers sent out; 1 article written and 1 speech made; 6 converts, about 20 persons interested and 30 workers to be depended upon throughout the State, besides the local association now organizing in Omaha. He regrets that he has only his own funds to depend upon, for he believes that conditions there are such that every dollar expended would result in a convert. He finds many of the STANDARD subscribers are not Simon pure single taxers and he is conducting a school of instruction among them by letter.

Pennsylvania.—Mrs. Florence A. Burleigh, Germantown, wrote to 61 single tax men and women; 16 joined; 341 tracts, 65 papers and 286 copies of "St. George" distributed; 1 convert and 1 local secretary reported. The women members of the S. T. P. A. in Philadelphia and Germantown held during the Spring a successful weekly class in "Progress and Poverty" in the parlors of Miss Paul, Philadelphia. It was led by Miss Katherine J. Musson.

Utah.—C. P. Kendrick, Ogden. No report received.

Washington.—Lee Mellner, Seattle, reports 19 persons addressed, 100 tracts and 27 books distributed; has hopes of a strong local association. In May secretaries were found for these States.

Indiana.—L. O. Bishop, Clinton, reports a number of persons addressed, all of whom replied favorably; 500 copies of "St. George" sent out and great attention paid to Congressmen.

Iowa.—W. Edwin Brokaw, Des Moines, 39 single taxers written to, 5 members, 50 tracts, 20 books, 24 papers and 2,000 copies of "St. George" sent out. In June 4 secretaries were appointed.

Mississippi.—C. H. Merry, Yazoo City, 11 persons addressed, 2 joined, many papers sent out. Mr. Merry inserted a paragraph in the Yazoo City Herald, telling briefly the story of the Congressional record of "Protection or Free Trade?" and stating that the pamphlet could be had free on application to him.

Oregon.—Wallace Yates, Ballston, 52 tracts and 100 "St. George's" distributed.

South Dakota.—Mrs. L. M. Harris, Clear Lake, 35 persons addressed; 4 joined; 8 books and 30 papers distributed.

Texas.—J. C. Porterfield, Houston, 49 persons addressed; 7 members; 131 books; over 1,200 papers; 875 copies of "St. George" distributed, 30 trial and 11 yearly subscribers to THE STANDARD, and 6 yearly subscribers to the Progressive Times; Plano, Tex., secured. In July, Thad. A. Dean was appointed secretary for Tennessee; 14 single taxers addressed; 600 tracts and 450 "St. Georges" distributed; the secretary and a friend each wrote to every member of congress from the state, and have urged others to write for "St. George."

The difficulty in all the states is lack of funds. Lack of time is frequently complained of, but lack of money seems to stand squarely between the members and the most effective work they could do. That they have done so much shows there is no lack of will. One secretary writes that the cost of the work exclusive of literature bought is about fifteen times as great as the receipts. This is probably the usual proportion. The dues were put low that none might be excluded by poverty.

In closing, we wish to thank all friends who have given financial aid to our work, including those papers which have kindly advertised our badge.

S. M. GAY, General Secretary.

C. ESTELLA BACHMAN, Acting Secretary.

ORGANIZING IN WESTCHESTER.

The Westchester Single Tax Club has just been organized at Mt. Vernon, Westchester county, N. Y., with these officers: President, Kenneth Cranford; vice-president, Edward N. Vallandigham; secretary and treasurer, Wm. Moeller. The constitution declares the purposes of the club in these words:

"Recognizing the inherent justice of calling upon men to contribute to public revenues in proportion to the natural opportunities they hold, the purpose of this club is to aid in bringing about such legislation, local, state and national, as shall result in the imposition of all taxes (a single tax) not upon land, but exclusively upon land values, to the end that the community shall take for the expenses of government and for other public uses, the whole rental value of land exclusive of every sort of improvement thereon, since such value is conferred, not by individual effort, but by competitive demand."

SPREAD OF THE IDEA IN CANADA.

An address by Assessment Commissioner Pratt, of Ottawa, Canada, before the Board of Trade of that city, in which he advocated the adoption of the single tax, has excited a great deal of local attention, and set a debate going between the Ottawa Journal and the Ottawa Citizen, in which the Journal defends Mr. Pratt's position. Of Mr. Pratt the Journal says:

"Mr. Pratt, with his thorough practical acquaintance with questions of taxation, holds that the land tax would likely remedy some of the injustice and inequalities of our present methods. His view will decide some to support the idea, and influence many others to consider it carefully. Mr. Pratt conducts the business of a most troublesome civic department in a way that has earned the hearty confidence of the greater part of the community, and on this ground as well as on the ground of his experience of tax problems, his support of the land tax carries probably more weight than that of any other man in the city could. As he regards the land tax favorably, the idea ought to become a practical issue in our civic politics."

ST. JOHN'S HAS A CHANCE.

A correspondent of the Montreal Gazette, writing from St. John's, N. F., the scene of a recent disastrous fire, says that the people who wish to rebuild are having trouble with absentee landlords, since the latter are raising ground rents upon the land just bared of improvements by fire. The correspondent thinks that the State should step in and pass a law dealing with the question. The Register, of Berwick, N. S., thinks the situation at St. John's offers a fine chance for an application of the single tax. Says the Register:

There is certainly a splendid chance in St. John's for a single tax experiment. To require the rental value for those lands—the ground rents—to be paid into the public treasury for public purposes, would "hoist" the "absentee landlord" for once and for ever. But why attack the absentee

landlord? If the land is his, he has as good a right to live in England on the earnings of his tenants as he has to live in St. John's. The land, it is true, cost him a mere trifle originally, and he has done nothing to improve it since. Its increased value is entirely derived from the labor of the tenants. The fruits of their labor have been destroyed by fire, and nothing is left but the land, as valueless in itself as it was when the island was first discovered. But the land must be used; houses and shops, factories and stores must be built, and they must be built on the land. When everyone else is contributing to relieve the suffering, the landlord comes forward with a demand that he shall receive for the use of the land double the amount yearly that he received when it was covered with buildings.

R. T. Snediker telegraphs THE STANDARD from Emporia, Kans., that the People's party of that state endorses free trade and the single tax.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

Divisions A and B.—Hon. John T. Browne, Mayor of Houston, Texas, is a free trader and knows a little of the single tax, but fails to see its advantages. Address him specially on the ethical side of the subject.

Divisions C and D.—Hon. Robert Howard, Fall River, Mass., secretary Mule Spinners Association, State Senator and prominent labor leader. Explain how the single tax will solve the labor problem.

Divisions E, F and G.—Hon. A. O. Mitcher, Mayor of Oklahoma City, O. T. Young man of ability and progressive ideas. A tract of eighty acres is shortly to be given the city for the benefit of the public school funds. Show him the advantage of leasing instead of selling now, and in this way introduce the single tax.

Divisions H and I.—Dr. W. O. Henry, care Young Men's Journal, Omaha, Neb. Is on the editorial staff of this paper. On the subject of poverty he writes: " * * * It always results from incompetency or laziness. I hold, first, that this earth contains resources sufficient to supply all of its inhabitants with the necessities and comforts of life; second, all human beings are entitled to the necessities and comforts of life; and third, since the earth contains resources which must be developed, if the necessities of life be supplied from her storehouse, then all who are entitled to these necessities must, by right, take part in developing them."

Divisions J and K.—Mayor McNeil, Norwood, Ohio. Free trade Democrat, but fears he is in advance of the masses.

Divisions N and O.—Dr. O. L. Pelton, Elgin, Ill. Prominent physician, who recognizes the social wrong. Is inclined to favor the single tax theory, but does not thoroughly understand it, and is, at the same time, a believer in protection.

New York, P. O. Box 471.

MARIAN DANA MAUDANIEL, Secretary.

NATURAL RESULT OF PROTECTION.

Seattle (Wash.) Telegraph.

It may interest some one to know that William and Robert Pinkerton are both ardent Republicans. They can certainly justify their political allegiance on the score that, under Republican rule, their peculiar industry has prospered marvelously. We wonder that it has never occurred to the New York Press to publish one of its peculiar pictures to show that, whereas in the days of low tariff there was no such thing as Pinkertons at all, now it is a great organization with branches everywhere that the law allows.

THE COMING STORM.

Arthur M. Johnson.

At even, at midnight, or at the cock crowing or in the morning.

It may come in the gentle even at the setting of the sun
When the earth is a golden glory and the day is nearly done,
When the drowsy cow-bells tinkle across the grassy lea
And the stars begin to twinkle over the summer sea,
When the sound of the ringing anvil no more is heard around,
When the forge in the shop is silent and the hammer's clanging sound,
When marshalled on the nightly plain the constellations form
In the silence of the evening; then may come the awful storm.

At midnight's holy hour, when the quiet moon looks down,
When the stars draw back in wonder and the clouds begin to frown,
When the busy city slumbers and the watchman cries "all's well,"
When a thousand herds lie sleeping in valley, hill and dell,
When the weary cease from labor and the troubled heart finds rest,
And the gentle babe lies sleeping upon its mother's breast;
Then may come in wild confusion from mountain, hill and glen
A hollow restless murmur and the tramp of marching men.

When the cock's shrill voice is echoed across the sleeping land,
And the first faint flush of daylight falls across the shining sand,
When the gates of heaven are opened, and the lordly God of day
Drives up his shining chariot across the milky way,
When the birds wake up in the tree tops and the dew fades from the flowers,
When the mighty clock in the steeple chimes out the passing hours;
Then may come the torch of the vandal borne by Labor's mighty form,
Then may burst in sudden fury the all-destroying storm.

Or in the morning it may come, when all around is life;
Then will be heard the clash of arms and sounds of deadly strife,
When men are fighting for their homes, their daily bread, their all,
When thousands urged by hunger's cries beside each other fall.
"Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."
Upon our neck the iron heel of despots we have borne.
The dusky brow of labor is long-suffering and kind,
But on its arms the shackles they must not presume to bind.

Talk not to me of patience, of country and of laws,
Quote not your wise man's sayings, your scripture and your saws.
"The poor you have always with you," did the Savior truly say.
But did he say you must starve them and beat and bind them, pray?
Already the fires are lighted, already the muskets gleam,
And the desperate eyes of hunger peer through the smoke and steam;
The hammer that rang on the anvil is turned to a battle mace,
The serried ranks are forming and the storm ye must surely face.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

DOMESTIC.

A week of intensely hot weather, extending over most of the country, culminated on Friday last in a maximum official temperature of 95½ degrees and an average of 85½.

There is a sensational report that England is about to seize Johnson's Island, in the Pacific, on the route from Honolulu to New Zealand. The island is said to belong to American citizens.

The President has vetoed the bill sending the famous McGarrahan claim to the Court of Claims. McGarrahan, under Mexican grants, claims \$3,000,000 of mining lands in the West, and has had his claim for twenty years before Congress.

The Supreme Court of Michigan has unanimously declared unconstitutional the Legislative apportionment bill passed by the Democratic majority of the Legislature, and also the preceding apportionment passed by the Republicans, and has ordered a return to a still earlier apportionment. An extra session of the Legislature may be called to make an apportionment in accordance with the court's view of what is constitutional.

Congressman Wheeler, of Atlanta, having read a Farmer's Alliance campaign book by Congressman Watson, of Georgia, claiming that many members appeared drunk on the floor, and Mr. Watson having declared before the House that every word of the book was true, the House appointed a committee to investigate the charge.

The regular Democrats controlled the Colorado State Convention and prevented fusion with the People's party.

In the House of Representatives last week there was much filibustering against the World's Fair appropriation bill, and the appropriation may yet fail.

There are 1,000 non-union men in the mill at Homestead, all armed, besides a strong force of deputy sheriffs, and coal and iron police. It is reported that twenty-five skilled union men have gone to the company to learn on what terms they will be taken back. In The Central Labor Union, of New York, resolutions declaring the action of the Homestead strikers only an assertion of their right to the product of their labor, and advocating the disbandment of the militia upon the ground that such soldiers were used to coerce workingmen in the assertion of such right, was referred to a committee.

Governor Jones, Democrat, was re-elected in Alabama by perhaps 50,000 majority over Kolb, bolting Democratic and Farmer's Alliance candidate, who also had much Republican support. Many negroes voted the Democratic ticket, and Kolb has carried probably not more than fifteen out of sixty-six counties. In 1890 the Democratic majority for Governor was 97,000.

FOREIGN.

A recount in one Parliamentary division reduces Mr. Gladstone's majority to forty.

The Rt. Hon. Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke, long a distinguished figure in the House of Commons and member of several Liberal ministries, is dead at the age of 81.

An attempt has been made to assassinate with dynamite the leader of the progressionist party in Japan, and the minister of justice. Members of the radical party are suspected of complicity in the attempt.

The populace at Tashkend, Asiatic Russia, infuriated by the horrors of the cholera, stoned the deputy governor to death, and when attacked by the troops defeated one body of soldiers and resisted another until seventy-five of the people were killed and several hundred wounded. Many of the soldiers were slain.

Bismarck declared in a recent speech that he might have too greatly weakened parliament in forming the empire, and urged the necessity of increasing the power of the imperial legislative body.

PERSONAL.

James Middleton was born in August, 1850. His boyhood was spent on a farm in Salem, New Hampshire. He attended district school winters. In 1868 he entered the State Normal School at Westfield, Mass., and graduated in 1870, after which he taught school in various places in Massachusetts and Connecticut. He entered the class of '79 in Yale College and left during the Sophomore year, owing to the breaking down of his health. Since then he has been connected with the book business in one form or another, and has been with the Scribners since 1885.

In 1886 Mr. Middleton became interested in social questions. He voted for Mr. George for Mayor, and some months afterwards was sent to New Orleans by the firm. He took THE STANDARD, read "Progress and Poverty", and, becoming a single taxer, joined the Anti-Poverty Society. He was among the founders of the club in New Orleans, and upon the resignation of Mr. J. S. Watters, first president, was unanimously chosen as his successor. He wrote for various local papers and magazines, and drafted the memorial on taxation which was sent out by the club to all parts of the state. He was delegate to the first National Conference at Cooper Union.

John H. Blakeney, whom all the readers of THE STANDARD know as an active single taxer, of Binghamton, N. Y., has purchased a job printing office at 70 State street, that city.

Henry Lenge, Jr., has taken a week's vacation from his work at Washington, which he is spending at Merriewood Park.

Joseph Leggett, one of the half dozen men who, with Henry George and Judge Maguire organized the first single tax society in the world, has retired from the presidency of the San Francisco Single Tax Society, and been succeeded by A. H. Sanborn.

Henry Ware Allen has found an opportunity for his pen in still another of the leading financial papers of Mexico, which says editorially of his contribution that, "it would not be easy—perhaps it would be impossible—to refute his arguments or successfully dispute his conclusions," and adds: "It seems to us beyond all doubt that future taxation should go more and more in the direction of taxation on land values."

George F. Parker, who has recently edited Mr. Cleveland's speeches,

official messages, and other utterances, gives, in the August number of the Review of Reviews, a sympathetic and eulogistic, but careful and candid character sketch of Grover Cleveland.

Altona Chapman's story of Mr. Truslow and his protection ideas, first published in the New Earth, is being widely republished in the general press.

The Detroit News reproduces Bolton Hall's article on poverty, which first appeared in the prohibition Voice.

Edward Maher, one of the most prominent lawyers of Chicago, and for years a leading Republican of that city, comes out for Cleveland and Stevenson because he is opposed to protection.

The St. Louis Republic republishes from THE STANDARD, Henry George, Jr.'s, admirable description of the adoption of the single tax at Hyattsville.

Those wishing to obtain copies of Moffett's admirable little tariff treatise receive quickest attention by addressing the author, S. E. Moffett, 80 Corcoran Building, Washington, D. C.

Wm. Saunders, well known to STANDARD readers as the leading single tax man in England, has been elected to Parliament by a handsome majority.

THE CONGRESSIONAL EDITION OF "PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?"

There are now in circulation between eight and nine hundred thousand copies of "St. George," and the remainder of the million edition will be rapidly pushed out. One hundred and twenty thousand are being sent to selected farmers in the state of Ohio. Many Congressmen are becoming alive to the potency of the book as an educator, and are promising to send large orders back to Washington after Congress has adjourned, and they have got home and made proper arrangements in their districts. Mr. Johnson will keep his "St. George" mailing department in operation until the end of the campaign, and any orders addressed to him at Washington will be promptly attended to.

Those who wish to join in the work of educating ex-Speaker Reed's constituents should hasten to send in the names and addresses of persons to whom the book should be sent. A lot of copies have been put into circulation there already, but the good work should be pressed forward. A single taxer, in Portland, recently wrote Mr. Reed, asking him to send twenty copies of "St. George," inclosed in envelopes bearing his (Reed's) frank. The request was accompanied by twenty cents. Mr. Reed sent the letter and the money to Mr. Johnson with this indorsement:

"Respectfully referred to Hon. Tom L. Johnson, M. C., inventor of the system. T. L. R."

T. F. Monahan, of Washington, D. C., who as many know, was during most of his life a worker in the anthracite coal mines of Pennsylvania, suggests that copies of the book be sent into the Homestead region. Can any of THE STANDARD readers obtain for Mr. Johnson a registry list of Homestead? Doubtless a special fund can be raised to pay for a large distribution of the books there. Any suggestions relative to this will be gladly received by Mr. Johnson.

John Farrell, of Sydney, Australia, writes:

"I have been very busy during the last two weeks urging our supporters here to get a large number of copies of 'Protection or Free Trade?' as issued in cheap form for the American tax payer. I think we will be able to order from 50,000 to 100,000 for New South Wales alone."

Mr. Ryder and some other single taxers of Sing Sing, N. Y., succeeded in getting published in the local Democratic paper a letter, or rather an address to the people of that town, drawing attention to the Congressional edition of "Protection or Free Trade?" its great usefulness in the work of education, how cheaply it might be had, and making an appeal for contributions toward a distribution fund. The letter bore the signatures of men to whom money might be sent. In this way a number of contributions were obtained. This experience can doubtless be repeated in many other towns; and with that view Mr. Johnson had the following form for a newspaper communication drawn up, as suggesting to those who could get space in their local newspapers the kind of letter that appeared to him likely to be effective.

Editor.....

The Democratic National Convention has chosen Grover Cleveland for its standard bearer, and has declared protection a fraud on, and robbery of labor. The contest this fall will therefore be on the tariff question, and it behooves all enemies of protection to use their best endeavor to make the Democratic party aggressive and to aid in this fight, both for principle's sake and for our country's happiness and prosperity. The best, most interesting and clearest work ever printed on the tariff question is Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade?" which has been incorporated into the Congressional Record by the Hon. Tom L. Johnson, of Ohio; Hon. Wm. J. Stone, of Kentucky; Hon. Joseph E. Washington, of Tennessee; Hon. Geo. W. Fithian, of Illinois; Hon. Thos. Bowman, of Iowa, and Hon. Jerry Simpson, of Kansas—members of congress. It is expected that 1,000,000 copies of this book will be distributed, a number of the Democratic state committees having already put large quantities into circulation. Copies may be obtained for one cent each, enclosed in franked envelopes ready for free distribution through the mails. A number have been circulated in this vicinity, but it is the intention of the undersigned to put a copy into the hands of every voter in the district. Now is the time to circulate them before the excitement of a political campaign causes men's minds to become prejudiced.

To aid us in this work, we solicit, from all persons interested, contributions in any amount from one cent up, and we promise to see that these books are distributed where they will do the most good. Money may be sent to any of the undersigned.

(Signed)

OBJECT LESSONS.

This department contains facts, gathered from all parts of the world, that are of current interest and permanent value, and illustrate social and political problems. Information from trustworthy sources is solicited.

THE PROFITS OF PRIVILEGE OVER LABOR.

Labor Commissioner Robideon, of Michigan, in his report for the current year, gives this interesting history of a Michigan mine, it shows how very little of some products go to capital and labor, and how much to monopoly:

The Colby mine has a history worth recording. The owners paid \$1.25 per acre for the mine, and without expending a cent upon it for improvements, leased the privilege of taking out ore on a royalty of 40 cents per ton to the Colbys, who lease it to Morse & Co., for 52½ cents per ton royalty. Morse & Co. contracted with a Captain Selwood to take the ore out and deliver it on the cars for the sum of 87½ cents per ton. Captain Selwood in his turn got a capitalist who owned a steam shovel to dig the ore and put it on the cars (all that he had contracted with Morse & Co. to do) for the sum of 12½ cents per ton. This was in 1885, and the ore which was as easily mined as gravel from a gravel pit, brought \$2.80 per ton delivered on the cars. Out of this \$2.80 per ton the share of the owners of mine was 40 cents, Colby's share 12½ cents, Captain Selwood's share, after paying 12½ cents as above for the work of production, was 75 cents, and the remainder, or \$1.40 per ton, was at once the share and profit of Morse & Co. In that year, 1885, 84,312 tons was mined, which at \$2.80 per ton, brought as said, on the cars ready for transportation, the sum of \$236,073 60.

RECAPITULATION.

84,312 tons, at \$2.80 per ton..... \$236,073 60

Owners' royalty, at 40c. per ton.....	\$33,724 80
Colby's profit, at 12½c. per ton.....	10,539 00
Morse & Co.'s profit, at \$1.40 per ton.....	118,036 80
Selwood's profit, at 75c. per ton.....	63,234 00
Capitalists share for labor and capital used in production, at 12½c. per ton.....	10,539 00

Total.....\$236,073 60

Thus labor and capital were obliged to pay to land ownership over 95 per cent. of their product for the bare privilege of producing. Observe that every item here, except the last, is royalty, pure and simple. Not a penny is for cost of plant. That all goes into the last item.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

—Henry L. Hinton sends these encouraging words: I have read pretty thoroughly every issue of THE STANDARD from the first, but none with such solid pleasure as the current issue. It is brimming over with bright thought and clear-cut statements. The way THE STANDARD is clarifying the muddled pool of economic thought for the "tutored classes," as well as for the masses, is of untold value.

—T. Wistar Brown, Jr., writes from Philadelphia, Penn.: It is a good time now that the struggle in the New York Assembly over the Connolly bill is ended, to review the measure in the light of quiet reason.

In the first place, it is not good doctrine to base any assessment on wealth, because returns of wealth can be tampered with. To pass a law that a county must pay its share of the state's expenses according to its amount of taxable wealth, would lead to meddling with returns of taxable wealth so as to make the county's direct contribution to the state as light as possible. This is said in no cavilling spirit. It is a conclusion drawn from business experience. Such an arrangement would be followed by an effort to avoid state dues by minimizing returns. Then returns of taxable wealth are impossible to obtain with exactitude.

Any merchant will tell you that a correct estimate of the value of assorted kinds of property is almost impossible, even in a smaller area than that covered by a county. When a man falls and makes an assignment of various kinds of property, it is very difficult to appraise his estate correctly. If forced to a sale it sometimes falls far below the most conservative estimate in value; if well and deliberately managed, it occasionally exceeds the most sanguine anticipations.

Where the value of such an estate must be known, they generally try and strike a men which will be below the average of a medium year's transactions in the kinds of property under consideration. Even honest assessors could never be sure they were getting complete returns of the taxable wealth of a county, or of a municipality.

But, granted for argument it could be done, what then? Is such a thing desirable? Do we wish a principle to go into the laws which is in effect to fine a county in proportion to its thrift in accumulating wealth?

Some one may reply that the returns of land values would eventually be taken as the basis for determining the state assessment on a county. But even though a single tax county returned the land value as the mode of reckoning its dues to the state, the foundation for a correct state apportionment would not be reached. There is something back of land value; namely, that which creates land value—population.

But, it is asked, what in regard to mineral lands? how about land exceptionally fertile, or with some natural advantage over neighboring counties? I answer that whatever money value such lands possess is given to them by population (not necessarily living upon them, but in hopes of getting at them). It is impossible for a community under the single tax system to have an advantage in high land value and small population for the simple reason that under free conditions people will migrate to places where the least labor will receive the most reward. A county of few people and unusually fine natural opportunities, would soon acquire a large population under a tax system which made land free.

Population is the fairest basis for determining a community's share of the state's revenue. It is so easy to ascertain. When the census taker finds a man or a woman, there is no higgling over value, it just counts one. Representation is based on population. There was a long fight in England

THE HOUSEHOLD.

INEXPENSIVE PORTIERES.

ALICE CRITTENDEN.

"It is sometimes easier to make pretty things out of nothing than it is to produce satisfactory results when you have the stores of a great city to choose from," said a lady whose ingenuity had been pretty well tested in the furnishing of a summer cottage situated half a day's journey from any place where decorative materials could be purchased. It was called in the advertisement a "furnished cottage," but it was without any of the little prettiness that go to make a home pleasant.

In the first place the tiny dining room and parlor were separated only by an arch, and some sort of curtains were a dire necessity. A quantity of material such as furniture dealers use in packing goods—a kind of coarse burlaps of coffee sacking that had been sewn over the baby carriage and sewing machine which were both new, was found to be nicer than usual, of a good ecru color and quite new. She cut it in strips twelve inches wide, basted in a hem one inch wide on each edge, and worked it with a coarse sampler stitch in dull blue. Using the same stitch she worked in several figures from an oriental rug, copying the outline and filling it in with scattered stitches in black, red, blue, and orange crewels. It was very coarse work, and very quickly done with a darning needle and double wool to make the designs more prominent. Three of these were made for each curtain. Two breadths of an old, dull blue cashmere dress, and some dark red pieces, both rescued from the "piece bag," furnished a red and a blue stripe for each curtain. The red stripes had the hems feather stitched in old gold and the blue in dull red, and these stripes were sewn together in this order: burlaps, blue, burlaps, red, burlaps. To sew them place the right sides together, hold a long knitting needle against the seam, and with a coarse needle, threaded with pale blue cord, such as is used by druggists, take long over and over stitches; when you come to the end of the knitting needle, pull it out and proceed as before: this gives the open seam of the Bagdad rugs. I do not need to say that these curtains were a decided success and much admired.

The double faced, printed cotton plush now manufactured, has a sheen that is almost like silk velvet, or real plush. It comes in the most beautiful shades and patterns, and makes very handsome portieres. If one has not access to a large selection of patterns and finds nothing pleasing among such a small choice as she has in the village store, it is always advisable to write to some large city firm for samples. In sending for samples a shopman one day suggested to me that customers could save the firms with whom they deal, much trouble by specifying certain shades and prices outside of which they did not care to go. For instance, in sending for a printed plush for a room in gold and browns, mention the colors it must harmonize with—if possible send a bit of wall-paper, or furniture covering, so that you do not put them to the trouble of sending you a lot of useless samples in olives, blues or reds.

This cotton plush makes nice covers for divans, or lounges. It may be simply hemmed or finished with a fringe, and if the figures are carefully matched, and the seam sewed on a machine, it will not be seen unless you look for it.

There is an excellent quality of burlaps sold at 25 cents a yard; it is twenty-seven inches wide, and of a lovely shade of ecru. Give this a border twelve inches wide all around of dull blue corduroy, and you will have exquisite portieres. Golden-brown corduroy or golden-brown cotton plush, used in the same way, makes beautiful curtains. The centre of burlaps can be ornamented with designs cut from the bordering material, and outlined with tinsel couched on. Fleur-de-lis or bow-knots of ribbon, with flowing ends called "love-knots," are the most popular designs at present.

In making mention of inexpensive material for portieres I must not forget the pretty use that can be made of silk rags. Old dress trimmings, your husband's neckties, hat linings, faded ribbons, old silk hosiery, and parasol and umbrella covers, every scrap of silk, satin, velvet or plush is convertible into handsome curtains, lounge

covers or table covers, with no cost except that of weaving.

Have a box or bag for holding such bits and you will be surprised at the rapidity with which they accumulate. Old sleeve linings from gentlemen's overcoats are very prettily striped generally, and these you can often purchase at the price of old rags from a tailor who does repairing.

The village upholsterer will sometimes have handsome bits of plush in crimson or gold, or figured silk brocade (the best parts of worn furniture which he is recovering), and this you can also buy for a cent or two per pound.

When you have eight or ten pounds of material, cut them the same as for rag carpet—the thin silks half an inch wide and the heavier materials somewhat narrower. The more even they are cut and sewed the better the appearance of the woven goods. Sew them the same as for rag carpet in what is called "bit or miss." The shorter the pieces the more oriental the effect. It is better to have no piece of a solid color more than one yard long.

Should you happen to have a large quantity of one color, such as black or brown, use some of it for a border at the bottom, winding it in four balls; then wind four smaller balls of some other color, such as gold for black, or cream, with perhaps a tiny ball also of red for the brown. This makes a very handsome border.

Since Mrs. ex-President Cleveland set the fashion by having two pairs of these curtains made they have become quite the rage.

It is a good plan to experiment with a small quantity first, and to this end have a piece woven large enough for a little stand cover, or a sofa pillow.

If your materials are all light silks, one pound will make a square yard; if of silk and plush, one and a quarter pounds.

For portieres have it woven fifty-one inches wide. One ounce of any color will make a band one and a half inches wide on goods fifty-one inches wide; two and a quarter inches on goods one and a quarter yards wide, and two and three quarters on one yard wide. So you see that a very little of each of two or three solid colors will be sufficient to make a dado.

Soft cashmeres, merinos, flannels or any kind of light weight woolen goods cut evenly an inch wide, the ends lapped flat and sewed firmly, make very pretty, small rugs, which are always so useful about the house. These should be woven with Turkey red linen warp, like the silk curtains.

The subjoined communication adds to my alarm over the extent and seriousness of a problem I have proposed. At the same time I think it abates my perplexity by referring each emergency as it may arise to the individual conscience and heart of the housekeeper who is touched by it.

I am no authority on political economy, or on social problems abstractly considered. My mission in the columns of THE STANDARD is to aid, by the testimonials of practical experience and by a busy woman's sympathies, homemakers who read the paper to make more out of their homes and, possibly, out of their lives, by intelligent and loving thoughtfulness rather than by prodigal expenditure.

I agree with the St. Louis correspondent that observance of all the possible economies is necessary to the well being of many homes, yet I trust that this fact may be recognized and acted upon without our forgetting to aid where we can those whose necessities are yet more urgent than our own.

I am thankful that STANDARD readers may find in its other departments treatment of life's deep and confusing social problems far more lucid than mine.

Following is the communication:

A late number of THE STANDARD contained a very thoughtful discussion of the question "Shall Sewing be Done at Home?" which ended with a request for further expression of opinion.

Without doubt every woman as well as every man ought to do all that opportunity permits to overcome the conditions that cause us to profit by injustice. Yet in the matter of sewing or buying the finished garments we surely would not say that the women who are themselves victims, who sew in factories or sweatboxes on these same ready-made garments, should eschew the "bargains" which these afford, but would rather be glad they have even so much in compensation. To these must be added a large number who are

less conspicuously, though not less really sufferers in their own persons or otherwise from the same kind of injustice, and another large number whose occupations make it inconvenient if not impossible to oversee the making of their garments.

But shall those in good circumstances and with arrangements convenient, have their sewing done at home?

Ready-made garments are cheap for two principal reasons: One, that the labor entering into them is poorly paid, to express it strongly, is partly stolen; and the other, that factories have the advantage over separate seamstresses in their better routine arrangements, permitting division of labor when making a large number of garments after the same pattern; as where one cuts, another bastes, a third sews seams, a fourth does the button-holes, and a fifth the small finishings. Steam or electric power, too, sometimes takes the place of muscle in working the machines.

She who employs her seamstress at home and pays her suitably, thus assumes a double burden, for the factory could pay well for all the work employed and yet furnish the garments much cheaper than the wearer can get them up. Enmeshed as we are in the existing state of things, there are other ways than in buying ready-made clothing, in which we profit at the expense of the oppressed, and wherein if we refuse to so profit we must take up a burden that is more than commensurate with the relief given. Every woman who can make a sacrifice in the interest of justice to the working man or woman ought to make one, but whether she can do this best by hiring her garments made at home and refusing bargains or by some other method, each for herself must choose. So, while one rule will not do for all, let every woman of us, without excusing herself, make the problem her own, and according to her judgment and her opportunity, whether she buys bargains or not, assist in the relief of our oppressed sisters. By all means let her hire her seamstress, who finds this the best way in which she can render help. HELEN M. MASON.

UNEARNED INCREMENT.

HER PITY.

Philip Bourke Marston, in Independent.

This is the room to which she came that day—
Came, when the dusk was falling cold and gray—
Came with soft step, in delicate array,

And sat beside me in the firelight there;
And, like a rose of perfume rich and rare,
Thrilled with her sweetness the enviring air.

We heard the grind of traffic in the street—
The clamorous calls—the sound of passing feet—
The wail of bells that in the twilight beat!

Then I knelt down, and dared to touch her hand—

Those slender fingers, and the shining band
Of happy gold wherewith her wrist was spanned:

Oh, thought, by which despair is half consoled!
That slender hand lay once within my hold,
And round my own I felt her fingers fold.

Her radiant beauty made my heart rejoice;
And then she spoke, and her low, pitying voice
Was like the soft, pathetic, tender noise

Of winds that come before a summer rain;
Once leaped the blood in every clamorous vein—
Once leaped my heart, then dumb stood still again.

PARAGRAPHS.

"What do you suppose Mr. Clinker said when I told him that his necktie was up behind?" "I haven't the least idea." "He asked me to stand in front of him and fix it."—Life.

"Oscar, I am going to do something to please you for your birthday, but I must first ask your teacher how you conduct yourself at school." "But, Auntie, if you really want to please me I wish you wouldn't say anything to the teacher at all."—Fliegende Blätter.

He (fishing for loving protestations): My angel, I do not believe I am worthy to be your husband. She (thoughtfully): That's just what my mother says.—New York Weekly.

Always forgive your enemies—especially those you can't whip.—Texas Siftings.

First passenger (who is occupying the seat with his baggage)—"Well, you look at me as if you wanted to eat me up." Second passenger (who is looking for a seat)—"No, sir. I was a Hebrew."—Judge.

"Bessie," said Mrs. Upstart, after the visitor had gone, "you shouldn't have asked Mrs. Gaswell how her son Peter was. It was very impolite. He is a young man. You should have said, Mr. Peter." "Wasn't Peter the name of one of the disciples?" asked Bessie. "Yes." "They

didn't call him Mr. Peter, did they, mamma?" "Peter, my child," replied her mother, with dignity, "was a fisherman. He didn't move in good society."—Chicago Tribune.

Whatever improves the condition of the lowest must promote the true interests of all.—Henry George.

Her husband wears a joyful look,
Now that the trees are out,
For now's the time that he can put
Her sealakin up the spout.—Cloak Review.

"No, John," said the affectionate wife of a politician. "I don't want any woman's suffrage." "Why not?" "Because I'd always feel like voting for you for office, and I don't think I could conscientiously do it."—Washington Star.

"Where have you been, Frank?" "Down at St. Louis." "What were you doing there?" "I ran a photograph gallery." "Did you get anything to do?" "Well, I should say I did. I put out a sign, 'babies taken here,' and the next morning there were four of them left on the doorstep."—Texas Siftings.

"What is meant by realistic fiction?" "It means the kind of fiction in which the writer gives his characters his own virtues and his neighbors' failings."—Puck.

TRANSFERRING TITLES.

Our remote ancestors did not sell land as it is sold now-a-days. The seller and the buyer went upon the land together, in the presence of witnesses, usually the most of the village folks. The seller took a turf of grass or a clod of earth and handed it to the buyer, declaring with a loud voice his intentions to transfer to him the possession of the land in question.

Centuries have elapsed since the English race has sold land in this way, and it has been supposed that the practice has become extinct. A lawyer recently returned from Bolivia, however, gives the following account of a land sale within 100 miles of La Paz. He writes:

"The Indians living upon the route were called out as we passed along, till finally the company numbered about 300. When we reached our destination the prefect called the assembly to order, declared what was to be done, and the notary wrote it down.

"The seller then tore up dirt and grass with his hands and handed it to the buyer, who at once began to run wildly about the land and turn the most vigorous somersaults.

"This, the notary told us, was to convince the native Indians that the purchaser had actually taken legal possession of the land, and he further informed us that the Indians and their descendants would defend the new-comer's title against all intruders until he or his heirs should again transfer the possession of the land in a similar manner."

THE GLADIOLI.

Garden and Forest.

The splendid gladioli which now ornament all American gardens, from the finest to the humblest, when summer is at its height, are as everyone knows, natives of the Cape of Good Hope, greatly improved and infinitely diversified by cultivation. But, perhaps, it is not as generally known that the old-fashioned hardy species, bearing a few small rose-red or, rarely, white blossoms, which our grandmothers loved long before its showier cousins became the fashion, is of European origin, and is, indeed, a familiar field flower throughout central and southern Europe. In those parts of southern France where the festival called the Fête Dieu is still publicly observed, its varieties are more generally employed than any other flowers to decorate the canopies borne in the processions and the little shelters where they halt.

A Chance to Make Money.

After reading of preserving fruit by the California Cold Process, I got samples, and cleared over \$50 last week, selling directions. People will pay a dollar for directions gladly when they taste the fruit, which, not being heated or sealed, looks beautiful and tastes perfectly fresh. I think this a grand chance to make a hundred or two dollars round home; I have a friend that has made from ten to twelve dollars a day for the past three months, selling directions. The Cold Process being so much better, cheaper and healthier than canned fruit, every body wants it; you can put up a bushel in ten minutes. I will mail sample and complete directions to any one for 19 two cent stamps, which is the cost of sample, postage, etc. In this way I can help you to start in a good business. Miss FRANCIS ROBERTS, New Concord, Ohio.

MY LAST PROPOSAL.

Cornhill Magazine.

I had made other declarations of love, all of them unsuccessful, I was glad to think, and yet here I was at forty—well, let us say between thirty and forty—shivering on the brink of another proposal. I had just come home to my rooms in King's Bench Walk after dining at the Barndores. Of course, I had met little Mrs. Winterton there; of course, I had taken her in to dinner—the world we both lived in was always bringing us together in that sort of way—and equally of course, I was soon dreaming over the fire of her slim, taut little figure in its dainty black silk setting. I had always liked the name of Kate, I thought; it was homely comfortable, and yet not commonplace. Yes, it would do very well. Neither had I any narrow-minded aversion to widows. I felt that if Mrs. Winterton, who had tried the holy estate of matrimony once, cared to try it again, it was scarcely for me, who had no experience, to raise objections. I had always regarded Weller the elder as a dull man of blunted sentiments, who somewhat deserved his fate. The exigencies of his profession, too, were not calculated to promote connubial bliss. In legal slang, his case was not on "all fours" with mine, and I knew that Mrs. Winterton and I could easily refute what one may call the Wellerian fallacy, if we wished to do so. But did we wish to? and why should we wish to? These were the questions troubling my mind at this moment.

I was too old to pretend to a mad, despairing passion; Kate was too sensible. But we were both almost alone in the world, and this, I think, had brought us closer together and made us rather like old friends than new acquaintances.

She was bright, witty, cheerful, and—yes, I think she was pretty. She had a nice little fortune, too, people said, but I had charged myself a hundred times with caring for that, and always acquitted myself honorably, with cheers in court. I did not lack money; my wants were few, and I could supply them without painful or anxious labor. No; I was in love with Kate Winterton, that was the fact, let me face it bravely.

Lighting a candle, for the shaded lamp was insufficient for my purpose, I rose and looked in the mirror over the mantelpiece. The candle made the worst of things, I thought; it seemed to bring out all the lines in my face, and there certainly were a good many firmly etched on my forehead. (I believe there are fewer to-day, Kate!) But where is the harm in a few lines in a man's face? They give it character. And when I looked at my features, there was no doubt about it, they were clean-cut, shapely—well, I might almost say—handsome. My mother had said it—I was her only child—over and over again, and there are things that one learns from one's parents that are never forgotten in after life. So far I was passing my examination creditably, if not with honors; but when I lifted the candle above my head it shone upon a wider parting than was either necessary or ornamental. Jackson, the hair-dresser, used to say with a professional sniff of sympathy, "Ah, sir, them barristers' wigs do bring the 'air off';" but he knew as well as I did that I did not put my wig on twice a year, having indeed no occasion to do so. So I lowered the candle hastily, and then, stepping back a few paces, took a long look at myself, deciding that my moustache fairly cancelled the parting, and that I felt happier with my figure in the middle distance than I had in the foreground. I have heard people call me modest; others I know said I was dull; one or two—chiefly those whose books I had reviewed—said I was stupid, meaning by that honest. Well, well, I said to myself, taking a last look in the glass, things might have been worse for a man who is over forty—I mean between thirty and forty.

I made up my fire and lit my pipe again. Kate liked tobacco, I thought to myself with a smile, or the thing would never do. Then I began to dream again. Yes, I would propose to Kate. "Propose!" The very word called up a host of memories. I had proposed before this, I began to recollect, and had been rejected. Well, that too might have been worse. I might have been accepted, and then I should never have seen Kate. I shut my eyes and travelled in memory through strange scenes of the past. I was at Lady Haberly's, standing in the large conservatory that leads out of the drawing-room—it must

have been at least fifteen years ago—with a tall, bright girl of two-and-twenty. I could see her brown honest eyes and truthful face framed in ruddy curls floating before me. Had she led me on, dangling about my quiet paths, or had I rushed out of my native element and jumped at her open-mouthed like a silly trout at a well-made West End fly? Never mind now! I shall never forget her haughty indignation, her superb astonishment; and yet she was only an earl's granddaughter. I don't think I ever had a pedigree, and I know I cut a very poor figure on that occasion in consequence. She married a wealthy American soon afterwards. I wonder what sort of a pedigree he had! As for me I kept a lock of her hair, and wrapped it up in a newspaper cutting two years after her marriage, when she was the heroine of some sad legal proceedings that many will remember. But it was a cruel, ugly way of keeping the foolish relic, and I burned it long ago, I am glad to say. I saw her at Brighton quite recently. Her eyes were still brown and beautiful, still honest, perhaps, to those who did not know her story. Why should I recall it? I escaped.

Then there was a tiny, plump, sprightly girl I used to meet at Aunt Harcourt's. She was a miller's daughter. It sounds romantic enough, but it was a steam mill, and is long ago turned into a limited-liability company. I cannot remember her name, nor the color of her eyes, but she sang me "Kathleen, Mavourneen," and I leaned on the piano looking into those eyes, though I have no notion to-day what their color was. And we danced together and sang duets. What pathos I could throw into "My plaidie to the angry airt, I'd shelter thee." I used to think she felt it; so did Aunt Harcourt, who was very eager for me to "settle down," as she called it, and was always harping on the miller's daughter, and saying, "Ah, James, what a nice little wife she would make, to be sure!" So one evening when aunt had left us alone—dear foolish old aunt—and we had looked into the fire a long time in awkward silence—I was very young then—I suggested the "Cauld Blast," for we had only one duet, and indeed very little else in common that I can remember. But our hands met in the search for the music, as hands will meet in this world, and then—Well, well; I recollect it all in accurate detail, except the color of her eyes. And she was a very good, kind little girl, and so sorry to grieve me by saying no, but she loved another. And the other was the curate, and after two or three years' waiting they got married, and they have ten or eleven children now, I fancy. I was heart-broken at the time, I know, but perhaps it was as well as it was.

That was not my first proposal, though, for my heart received a severe fracture at a very early age—when I was about fourteen, I think. A pasty-faced, yellow-haired girl captivated my affections in those early days. She was my schoolmaster's daughter. Ah! I was in love then. I wrote her verses. Such verses! teeming with fervent passion and perfect marvels of rhythm and orthography. I even produced a set of Latin verses singing her praises, and these cost me infinite toil, though I remember she did not much care for them. But my suit prospered. I bought her toffee and hardbake—sticky emblems of love—and penned her long epistles burning with romantic devotion, and she ate my toffee and wrote me sweet nothings in return. Betsy, the cook, carried our letters, and the postage was a heavy claim on my pocket money. But then there was no tick with Betsy, so I denied myself other pleasures, as a lover should do. Indeed, I dedicated myself to her service in the true spirit of ancient chivalry. I ran races and won them for her sake; I swam the Fylde River in flood for her sake, and imagined I was Leander crossing the Hellespont. If my memory serves me you couldn't swim in the Fylde at all unless it was in flood. I even punched my dearest chum, Freddy Pater-son, head for her sake, for Freddy had said she was a "pasty-faced little sneak." Thinking it over, my dear old Freddy, you were quite right, she was pasty-faced, and she was a sneak. Something was discovered, and she promptly gave up all my letters and verses to her father, and peached on Betsy. Her father was a dry, unapproachable man, as tough and unsympathetic as a tankard root. He sent for me to his study. I had pictured to myself difficulties in my interview with him, but then it was not

to come off for about ten years, and by that time I expected to be in command of a regiment at least, having made my name famous in the mouths of men, for I was going into the army in those days. On entering his study I rapidly prepared an appropriate and dignified address. I can remember rehearsing it in the passage. However, there was no opportunity for me to deliver it. My father-in-law that was to have been gave me a short harangue, in which I remember my verses were designated "impertinent trash," and the remainder of the interview was of an entirely practical nature, in which I played a wholly subsidiary part; and in consequence of her father's conduct on that memorable day, I considered my engagement with his daughter at an end.

These old memories and dreams were scattered into thin air by a rap at my outer door. I knew the knock—it was Harold Etheridge's. I saw a good deal of Harold at that time.

"I noticed your light, old fellow, and just dropped in."

"You don't intrude," I said, for I was always pleased to see him in those days. "I've only been dreaming over the fire. Sit down and have a last pipe; I must turn in in half an hour."

Harold sat down opposite to me on the other side of the fireplace. He was ten, or may be fifteen, years younger than I was, and a good-looking, dashing, straightforward man, both in face and manner. There never was such an open-hearted, honest looking fellow as Harold, to all appearance. I had nick-named him "the Saxon," and the name stuck to him, for it was appropriate. He lived a gay, reckless kind of life, and was always talking of marrying money, or going out to the Cape, as the only alternatives to the Bankruptcy Court; but I believe he was comfortably off. I liked him. I thought him one of my few friends. I like to remember him as I thought he was, even now, for I believe he was my friend in those days, as far as such a man could be anybody's friend.

I do not know what there is about the small hours of the morning, or whether sympathy is an absolute necessity to a lover, but within five minutes we were talking of Kate Winterton.

"A fine woman? I should think she is," cried Harold enthusiastically; "and a fine fortune too."

"Bright, witty, good-tempered, and pleasing, if not pretty," I added, continuing my description.

"Why, you might be in love with her, Penrose, to hear you talk."

It was very foolish of me, I know; but lovers are foolish, and it was early in the morning, and of course I did not know then that Harold was my rival. Had I suspected it, I think I should have entered a nolle prosequi and dropped my suit, leaving him a clear field. After all, it was perhaps only a natural effect of my ailment that I should long to tell some one my secret. The glory of a secret lies in imparting it. Keeping a secret is very poor fun, and I have no secrets at 2 o'clock in the morning—it is a sympathetic hour. I rose and stood by the fire.

"Harold, old boy, I've something to tell you. I am in love with Kate Winterton."

The Saxon nearly dropped his pipe. He gave a long whistle and said nothing. I was disappointed; I expected congratulations, pleasant laughter, good wishes—something.

After a moment's silence he said, with hesitation: "You haven't actually proposed, eh? Have you?"

"No, no! of course not. No one knows but you, and why the devil I told you I don't know," I added testily. His coolness irritated me.

"By George! old fellow, I'm sure I wish you joy. Benedict Redivivus!" He laughed heartily, and shook me by the hand. The Saxon was himself again, and so was I.

"Ah! Harold," I said, "I hardly know now whether I shall ever tell her. Let me see, this is Monday night."

"Tuesday morning, you mean."

"Yes, yes. I shall not see her until Sunday; I have a week before me yet. Ah, my boy, give me your good wishes on Sunday. 'The better the day—you know.' I shook him by the hand again. He was not very enthusiastic, but he listened to my garrulous ravings, and that was all that I wanted then. "I feel young again," I continued, "and when I think of her loving face and sweet gray eyes—"

Gug! gug! gug! It was that confounded lamp; out it went, and put a period to my rhapsody.—[Continued in next issue.]

SERENADE.

Dan Beard, in New York Truth.

The birds have gone to sleep, love,
The flowers are drunk with dew,
The stars their vigils keep, love,
And I appeal to you.
My heart my song confounds, love,
It sings in a minor key;
My joy would know no bounds, love,
If you'd but come to me.

Awake, awake, O true, true heart,
Awake to love and me;
The morn draws nigh and we must part
'Tis night—and we are free.

The sky is flecked with clouds, love,
Like lace upon your breast;
Day's corpses in its pale shrouds, love,
Is buried in the west.
The dead may tell no tales, love,
The day is dead and gone;
Thy courage never fails, love,
I'm waiting here alone.

Descend, descend, oh true, true heart,
Descend to love and me;
The morn draws nigh and we must part
'Tis night—and we are free.

THOMAS PAINE.

Robert G. Ingersoll in North American Review for August.

On the 8th of June, 1809, death came—death, almost his only friend. At his funeral no pomp, no pageantry, no civic procession, no military display. In a carriage a woman and her son who had lived on the bounty of the dead—on horseback, a Quaker, the humility of whose heart dominated the creed of his head—and, following on foot, two negroes, filled with gratitude—constituted the funeral of Thomas Paine. He who had received the gratitude of many millions, the thanks of generals and statesmen; he who had been the friend and companion of the wisest and best—he who had taught a people to be free, and whose words had inspired armies and enlightened nations, was thus given back to nature, the mother of us all. If the people of the great republic knew the life of this generous, this chivalric man, the real story of his services, his sufferings and his triumphs—of what he did to compel the robed and crowned, the priests and kings, to give back to the people liberty, the jewel of the soul; if they knew that he was the first to write "The Religion of Humanity;" if they knew that he, above all others, planted and watered the seeds of independence, of union, of nationality, in the hearts of our forefathers—that his words were gladly repeated by the best and bravest in many lands; if they knew that he attempted, by the purest means, to attain the noblest and loftiest ends—that he was original, sincere, intrepid, and that he could truthfully say: "The world is my country, to do good my religion"—if the people only knew all this—the truth—they would repeat the words of Andrew Jackson: "Thomas Paine needs no monument made with hands; he has erected a monument in the hearts of all lovers of liberty."

WASHINGTON NEGROES.

Henry Louis Nixon in Harpers' Weekly.

The march of improvement does not drive out the negro, and they who know the race best, who understand them, who appreciate their kindness and loyalty, their gentle willingness and their intelligence, would be the last to wish to see this picturesque element of Washington's population disappear or diminish. The black laborer, with his charm of bays' bones or his lucky horseshoe hanging to his leather strop; the excellent cook, who differs from her white rivals in having a palate that enjoys her own food; the courteous man-servant, the dignified remainder of a departed aristocracy; the advancing intellectual leaders of their race, whose careers are interesting to all students of their kind—may be driven out of the ways of fashion, but may they long linger in their own quarter, illustrating what has been done for the African by mere contact with American civilization, even when that contact was of the slave with his master.

OFF FOR EUROPE.

Harper's Weekly.

Here comes an excited group up the companionway. You hear a confused jumble between man and woman about keys left on her bureau, and you are conscious she has left the keys of her steamer trunk behind. The man fairly shoots down the gangway, leaps into the nearest cab, and begins a wild drive for those keys. Meanwhile the woman haunts the entrance to the gangway, and five minutes after the man is gone she finds the missing key securely stowed away in her pocket book. Her troubles of going abroad are beginning early.

Now that ponderous whistle deafens the ears of all on board. There are final tears and smiles and embracings, a rush down the gangway by the well-dressed mob, and then some climb on the near by cases or gather on the outer end of the dock to catch the last glimpse of the ship. Handkerchiefs are tied to canes and parasols; there is much cheering and last farewells. One young man calls out in a sentorian voice: "Give my love to Mary!" whereat there are cheers and laughter. And now at the far end of the dock there is a rattle and rumble, and two cabs came tearing along—one contains a belated passenger, who has just time to scramble on board; the other, the man who went after the key. And as the lady holds up the missing article, a conciliatory smile upon her face, that man sinks back upon a bale of goods, looking unutterable things. The key to the situation is plain to everybody. Now the "planks" are down, and slowly and silently the huge black ship, that seems so high out of the water that she looks like a great warehouse afloat, backs out of her dock, and is soon in mid-stream. Slowly yet she swings around, and finally squares away, her nose pointing for the Marrows. A moment she seems to hang and to be taken aback by the tide, then forges ahead. The flag is dipped, then hauled down from the flag pole on the dock, and those on board are at last going abroad.

REVILING OUR BEST CUSTOMER.

General Turnbull in American Journal of Politics.

A merchant who would tell his clerks to be civil to all his patrons excepting his best customer we should consider a good deal of a fool, and something of a knave; yet that is just what our protectionist statesmen, journalists and politicians do. England buys more of our merchandise than all the other nations of the earth put together; and in revenge for that the protectionists denounce Great Britain and revile the memory of Cobden because he made England our best customer and friend.

COBDEN, THE SCHOLAR.

General Trumbull in American Journal of Politics.

When he was thirty years old, which was about the time of the Reform Bill revolution, Cobden was one of the most learned men in England; and yet, in the jargon of conceited scholarship, he was called "an uneducated man," that is to say, a man whom the colleges did not know. The truth is that, although he had little schooling, few of his critics had read as many books or as many men as he had read. The best scholar is not the man who learns the most, but the man who forgets the least, and Cobden forgot little. There was not a man at Oxford who had read as many chapters in the Book of Realities as Richard Cobden had. He had studied man as a moral, intellectual, spiritual, social, agricultural, manufacturing and mercantile being, in his relations to this moral, intellectual, spiritual, social, agricultural, manufacturing and mercantile world. His political wisdom grew out of a vast accumulation of useful knowledge; and herein it was that when he entered Parliament at thirty-seven years of age, there was not a man in the House of Commons so well equipped with political information, not one so competent in debate.

CARL SCHURZ.

E. J. Edwards in New York Sun.

No stump speaker has ever excelled Schurz in his command of the English language, and that is all the more extraordinary when it is remembered that Mr. Schurz could not speak a word of English until he was 21 years of age. Many of the best judges agree in the opinion that Schurz is the most polished, graceful, intellectual, impressive and seductive of all the stump speakers of this generation. His capacity, while it served

his party well, served Mr. Schurz even better. President Lincoln in recognizing it made him Minister to Spain and a major-general of volunteers. The State of Missouri in acknowledgment of it sent him to the Senate and Rutherford B. Hayes called him to the Cabinet for the same reason.

SLAUGHTER HOUSE ECONOMY.

Julian Ralph in Harper's Weekly.

Everything—without particularizing too closely—every single thing that appertains to a slaughtered beef is sold and put to use. The horns become the horn of commerce; the straight lengths of leg bone go to the cutlery makers and others; the guts become sausage casings; their contents make fertilizing material; the livers, hearts, tongues, and tails, and the stomachs, that become tripe, all are sold over the butchers' counters of the nation; the knuckle bones are ground up into bone flour for various uses; the blood is dried and sold as a powder for commercial uses; the bladders are dried and sold to druggists, tobaccoists, and others; the fat goes into oleomargarine, and from the hoofs and feet and other parts come glue and oil and fertilizing ingredients.

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SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

PLATFORM

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES AT COOPER UNION, NEW YORK, SEPT. 3, 1890.

We assert as our fundamental principle the self-evident truth enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

We hold that all men are equally entitled to the use and enjoyment of what God has created and of what gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attach to land should be taken for the use of the community.

We hold that each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.

To carry out these principles we are in favor of raising all public revenues for national, state, county and municipal purposes by a single tax upon land values, irrespective of improvements, and of the abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government, the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments; or, a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax we propose is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc., to be determined by impartial periodical assessments. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The single tax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues, not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to its fullest use.

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.

2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.

3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.

4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share, through free exchanges, in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies and corruptions which are the outgrowth of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on anyone who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave everyone free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

With respect to monopolies other than the monopoly of land, we hold that where free competition becomes impossible, as in telegraphs, railroads, water and gas supplies, etc., such business becomes a proper social function, which should be controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned, through their proper government, local, state or national, as may be.

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SHARON.—Sharon single tax committee. Chairman, J. J. Ryan.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington single tax league. President, Edwin Gladmon; treas., R. J. Boyd; sec'y, Wm. Geddes, M.D. 1719 G. st., n. w.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First Saturday of each month, 805 North 5th st. Pres., Wilbur Moseua, 920 Hedge av.; sec. treas., Frank S. Churchill.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club. Every Thursday evening at 204 La Salle st. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey, 319 Lincoln av; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 732.

SOUTH CHICAGO.—Single tax club of South Chicago and Cheltenham. Pres., John Black; sec., Robt. Alchison, box E. K., South Chicago.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BROOKLYN.—Single tax club. Meets Friday evenings corner Glenwood av. and Vernon st. Pres., Wm. A. McKindrick; sec., A. S. Barnard, 54 Belmont st.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening, at the West Hotel. Pres., H. B. Martin, Woods' block; sec., Oliver T. Erickson, 2203 Lyndale av., N.

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STATE.—Missouri single tax committee. Henry H. Hoffman, chairman. This committee is pushing a State single tax petition. Blanks sent on application. It is also forming syndicate for publication of local single tax papers throughout the United States at little or no expense. Write for circulars to Percy Pepoon, sec., 613 Elm st., St. Louis.

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leigh, 13 Willow av. Meets first and third Tuesdays of each month at 4653 Main st., at 8 P. M.

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